



អង្គជំនុំជម្រះវិសាមញ្ញក្នុងតុលាការកម្ពុជា

E3/494

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia

Chambres Extraordinaires au sein des Tribunaux Cambodgiens

អយ្យការនៃអង្គជំនុំជម្រះវិសាមញ្ញក្នុង តុលាការកម្ពុជា

Office of the Co-Prosecutors of the Extraordinary
Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia

Parquet auprès des Chambres Extraordinaires au sein
des Tribunaux Cambodgiens

របាយការណ៍អ្នកជំនាញការ

Procès-verbal d'analyse
Written Record of Analysis

សំណុំរឿងលេខ Criminal Case File/Dossier pénal

លេខ No. 002(14-08-2006)

ឆ្នាំពីរពាន់ខែ..... ថ្ងៃ..... វេលាម៉ោង.....

Year two thousand.....07..... Month.....07..... Day.....18..... Time.....13:22.....

Année deux mille..... Mois de Le..... L'heure.....

I, Craig C. Etcheson, a resident of Phnom Penh, Cambodia, hereby affirm that:

1. I am an Investigator in the Office of the Co-Prosecutors of the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia ("ECCC") and, acting under the authority vested in me by Ministry of Justice Prakas 19KY/PK/07 dated 13 June 2007 and Rules 13(4) and 16 of the Internal Rules of the ECCC, I prepared the attached Written Record, which summarizes certain documents I have reviewed;
2. This Written Record was compiled by me in the normal course of my duties as an Investigator and, to the best of my knowledge, information and belief, is accurate;
3. The references cited in this Written Record are attached as Annex A;
4. In writing this Written Record, I have reviewed all the documents cited herein, which are listed in the attached Annexes B and C;
5. Based on these documents, I have ascertained the following:

បានថតចម្លងត្រឹមត្រូវតាមច្បាប់ដើម

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ថ្ងៃទី(On/Le) ១០ ខែ(Month/Mois) July

ឆ្នាំ (Year/Année) 2007

ក្រសួង/ Greffier *Phu*

OVERVIEW OF HIERARCHY OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA

E3/494

6. The Statutes of the Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK or Party) outline the structure of the Party.¹ They describe the Central Committee of the CPK as the highest organ of the Party, and hence of the state of Democratic Kampuchea (DK).² However, the Central Committee rarely convened and, in practice, an executive committee of the Central Committee called the Standing Committee functioned as the most powerful organ of the Party and the state of Democratic Kampuchea.³
7. At the level below the Standing Committee, Democratic Kampuchea was divided into Zones. Zones were governed by a three-person Party Committee composed of a Secretary, a Deputy Secretary responsible for security, and a Member responsible for economics.⁴ Zone Secretaries were appointed by the Standing Committee, and other members of the Zone Committee were appointed by the Secretary, with the approval of the Standing Committee.⁵ Initially there were six Zones: Southwest, West, Northwest, North, Northeast, and East.⁶ There were also several additional areas designated as autonomous sectors, and other areas known as special municipal regions under military authority, including the capital, Phnom Penh, and the nation's principal port, Kampong Som. In late 1976, two of the autonomous sectors, 103 and 106, were combined into a new North Zone, while the old North Zone was re-designated the Central Zone. Later, Sectors 105 and 505 were incorporated into the existing Northeast Zone.
8. The Zones were themselves subdivided into entities known as Sectors. Zones contained from as few as two Sectors (the new North Zone) to as many as seven Sectors (the Northwest Zone).⁷ Like the Zones, Sectors were governed by three-person Party Committees, consisting of a Secretary, a Deputy Secretary responsible for security, and a Member responsible for economics.⁸ Sector Secretaries were generally appointed by the Zone Secretary with the approval of the Standing Committee, and other members of the Sector Committee were generally appointed by the Sector Secretary with the approval of the Zone Secretary and the Standing Committee.⁹
9. The Sectors were subdivided into Districts. As with Zones and Sectors, Districts were governed by three-person Party Committees consisting of a Secretary, a Deputy Secretary responsible for security, and a Member responsible for economics.¹⁰ District Secretaries were generally appointed by the Sector Secretary with the approval of the Zone Secretary and the Standing Committee, while other members of the District Committee were generally appointed by the District Secretary with the approval of the Sector and Zone Secretaries and the Standing Committee.¹¹ Districts were a key entity in the DK hierarchy because Districts maintained "security offices" which distinguished between "enemies" who were to be disposed of locally and "enemies" who would be sent up the chain of command to higher-level authorities.¹²
10. Districts were subdivided into Sub-districts or Communes. Traditionally, Communes were subdivided into Villages, but under the DK system, Villages were combined into larger entities known as Cooperatives, within which communal eating and work were organized.¹³ Other units of organization existed within the Communes, such as *kong chalat* (mobile brigades), *chhlop* (local militia), and *kong roi* (groups of 100 workers). Communes were governed by Branch Committees, which were the lowest level in the CPK hierarchy.¹⁴ Unlike the structure of the higher level Party committees, Branch Committees typically had more than three members, although the members all remained under the authority of a Branch Secretary.¹⁵

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បានថតចំណងត្រឹមត្រូវតាមច្បាប់ដើម

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ថ្ងៃទី(On/Le)...20...ខែ(Month/Mois)...July

ឆ្នាំ(Year/Année)...2007

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STANDING COMMITTEE

E3/494

11. The CPK Statutes adopted at a Party Congress in January 1976¹⁶ delineated the authority of the Central Committee. According to the Statutes, the Central Committee's "duties" included "implementation of the Party's lines ... throughout the country"; "giving instructions to all the Zone, Sector and Municipal Organizations and to the Party organs taking responsibility for various nation-wide departments"; and "administering and deploying cadre and Party members within the Party as a whole ... while maintaining a clear and constant grasp on their biographies and political, ideological and organizational stances and constantly educating and indoctrinating them in terms of politics, ideology and organization."¹⁷ However, the Central Committee rarely met and in practice the Standing Committee, an executive committee of the Central Committee, exercised the powers assigned to the Central Committee and had the highest authority in the Party, the State and the Army.
12. The Statutes provided for the maintenance of a "mainforce army belonging to the Centre,"¹⁸ and specified that "All three categories of the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea ... must be ... under the absolute leadership monopoly of the Communist Party of Kampuchea."¹⁹ The Statutes also mention the existence of an "Organization Commission of the Central Committee" and for a "Party Committee of the General Staff."²⁰ In addition, an authoritative Party comment on Chapter IV of the Party Statutes adds that the Central Committee may establish 'separate departments' of which it 'takes direct or indirect charge.' As examples of these departments, it cites the nation-wide military department, the nation-wide government department, the nation-wide culture department, the nation-wide social action department, the rubber department and the ports department.²¹
13. The CPK Central Committee declared that the entire government apparatus would be under the complete control of the Party. "The Government: must be totally an organization of the Party, directly of our state."²² In order to carry out the duties reserved for the Central Committee, the Standing Committee (SC), established and oversaw the implementation of civil and military policies nationwide, including personnel and organizational matters and security and economic issues.

PERSONNEL AND ORGANIZATIONAL MATTERS

14. An organ of the SC, known as the "Center" or the "Organization," controlled the daily functions of the SC. The Center operated from Office 870. The importance of 870 is highlighted by the network of offices controlled by and tasked to service 870, which were grouped under an office called S-71 and designated by "K" code numbers. These included:

- K1 Organization's Office / Ket Chav aka Saem - Lin - Dim (POL Pot lived and worked here)
- K3 Organization's Office / Cham Yan - Van Samei (NUON Chea and **KHIEU Samphan** lived and worked here)
- K4 Logistics / Srei Yan aka Yaem - Cheuan
- K5 Political School / Mav Khem Neuan aka Phum - Sao Chean aka Bau
- K6 Party School / Sao Chhean aka Bau
- K7 Messengers / Ki aka Kou - Mim Min aka Prum - Han

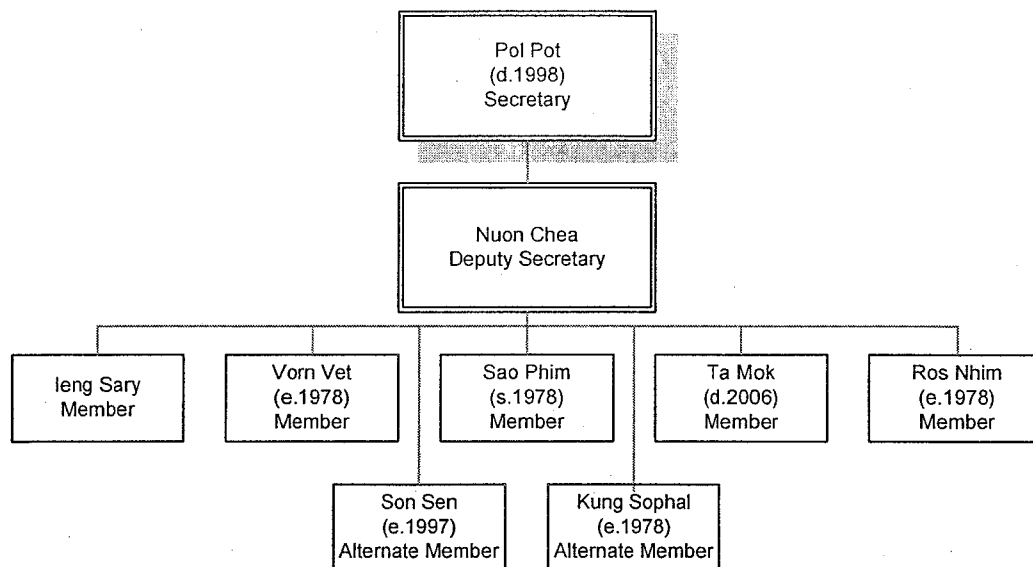
- K8 Production / Sim – Han - Ri
- K9 Re-education and Production / Ou Rien aka Theuan - Sau Heang aka Yom - Samnang
- K10 Re-education and Production / Mim Min aka Prum - Nha Muon - Baung Ho Leng aka Yut
- K11 Hospital / Troam
- K12 Motorpool / San Seuan aka Meal - Sareuan aka Pan
- K13 Re-education and Production / Paen - Chea Lang aka Theuan - Suon Sareung aka Saen - Yum
- K14 Production / Paen - Chea Lang aka Theuan - Suon Sareuan aka Saen
- K15 Re-education of Returnees / Suos Hao - Krin Lean aka Sam - Tun Chaut Sarin aka Kaoet - Tri Meng Huot
- K16 Re-education of Returnees / Baung Ho Leng aka Yut – Sam – Ki aka Kou
- K17 Re-education of Intellectuals and Diplomats / Uk Savan – Luon Sav aka Sin
- K18 Radio Communications / Roth Than aka Yuos – Ti – Ban - Lak
- K19 Fishing / Nha Muon – Chan Uon aka Ri – Theuan aka Long – Vuy – Ran
- K20 People's Representative Assembly / Nha Nuon – Chan Yon aka Ri – Yong aka Seum
- Ko9 Sewing

15. The list of individuals who worked in these units demonstrates that the units were established to assist and service the Standing Committee. For example, K3 is staffed by bodyguards for “Uncle Number 2” (**NUON Chea**), “Brother Van” (**IENG Sary**), “Brother Hem” (**KHIEU Samphan**), and “Brother Vorn” (**VORN Vet**).²³ Rounding out the list of K3 personnel are messengers and communications personnel, office guards, cooks for “Uncle Number 2” and another set of “Office K3 cooks.” Thus K3 appears to have been a support office for the CPK SC members based in Phnom Penh, except for Brother Number 1, who had his own support office, designated K1.²⁴
16. A former high-level cadre described the work flow at K1 and K3, and its relationship to the highest leadership of the Party:

Before that, I had been at K-1 and K-3. K-1 was near the entertainment hall, while K-3 was behind the Palace. Pol Pot went back and forth between K-1 and K-3. Haem (**KHIEU Samphan**) was at K-3, along with Nuon (**NUON Chea**) and Van (**IENG Sary**). Meetings took place at different locations, depending on the situation, but usually Standing Committee meetings took place at K-3. K-1 was Pol Pot's residence, not workplace, whereas K-3 was where Nuon and Haem (**KHIEU Samphan**) lived and worked. Pâng's headquarters was at K-1, with Pol Pot, while Haem (**KHIEU Samphan**) was with Nuon Chea at K-3. Pâng was in charge of all the K Offices. It was Pâng who arranged meetings, but Haem (**KHIEU Samphan**) who chaired things politically, but under Pol, who was in charge of political meetings together with Nuon. Haem (**KHIEU Samphan**) chaired the meetings of Party branches of the K Offices. Haem (**KHIEU Samphan**) was superior to Pâng. I believe that the reports from the provinces came to Office 870.²⁵

17. This person added that **NUON Chea** and **KHIEU Samphan** were responsible for organizing and delivering "high level political education" to Party cadres. Based on my reading of the documents pertaining to the hierarchical structure of the Standing Committee, I have drafted the following table which illustrates the command structure of the SC.

CPK Standing Committee



18. The CPK SC controlled the appointment of senior officials to the Party, government and military. As seen in the decisions that the SC issued on 21 April 1976, the Standing Committee appointed leading officials to government posts, including secretaries and deputies for commerce, industry, transportation, energy and public works, and appointed and removed senior military officers of the General Staff.²⁶ The CPK Statutes required that Zones and Sectors obtain the approval of the Central Committee before appointing cadre to leadership positions.²⁷ In unusual circumstances, such as following the 1977 purge of the Central Zone, the Standing Committee also had the authority to appoint chiefs of zones, sectors and districts, as well as zone ministerial personnel.²⁸
19. The CPK SC charged itself with monitoring the implementation of CPK policies. In the 9 October 1975 minutes of the CPK SC meeting, it is noted that "We are the ones who figure things out and evaluate them. ... The Standing [Committee] keeps track with each department's implementation of the line. It is the duty of the Office to keep track of implementation."²⁹ The Standing Committee required regular reporting from subordinate organizational units, as provided for in the decisions of the Central Committee reached on 30 March 1976, which instituted a "regime of weekly reporting to Office 870" (870 functioned as the secretariat of the Standing Committee).³⁰ The reporting regime was established in accordance with the responsibilities of the Zones as delineated in the Statutes of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, which provided that the Zone Committee was to maintain "a system of reporting to the Central Committee on the situation and the work of the Zone."³¹ This reporting system was implemented throughout the organizational apparatus, with the Zone leadership reporting to 870 on a weekly basis, while lower echelons regularly reported to the Zone leadership. An example of the reporting structure is shown in a document from Northwest Zone Secretary Moul Sambath alias Ros Nhim "To Angkar 870" dated May 11, 1978.³² This telegram

describes security issues, livelihood matters, rice planting and waterworks constructions, and organizational work in Sectors 2, 3, 4 and 5. The bulk of the report deals with security matters, reporting for example on the "smashing" of 40 people who were "trying to escape." A similar report from one week later, dated 17 May 1978, covers the same set of issues, and adds that reporting from the "base" to the Zone occurs every ten days.³³

20. An identical pattern of reporting to the SC is seen in a series of documents addressed from "401" to "Angkar," describing the situation in West Zone's Sectors 31, 32 and 37. A document dated 16 July 1978 devotes two and one half pages to problems dealing with "enemies," one half page on living conditions, and one paragraph each on agriculture, and building cadres.³⁴ This report also details the interrogation of enemies and the extraction of confessions, noting in one case that they will send "him and his confession to Angkar." A similar report dated one week later, July 23, 1978, includes five pages devoted to "enemies," one half page on "building socialist regime," one half page on living conditions, and one paragraph on building cadres.³⁵ This report also includes tables of statistics on agricultural output. Another report from "401" to "Angkar" dated 4 August 1978 - ten days later instead of the usual week interval - describes developments in cooperatives, rather than the usual granularity at the sector and district levels, and mentions that "100 Vietnamese people - small and big, young and old - have been smashed" along with 60 other ordinary people who have been "smashed."³⁶ These documents establish that a regular reporting relationship existed between the Zones and the Center, and that the SC was monitoring the implementation of its policies.
21. The SC also had direct contact with personnel from the Sector, District and Branch levels. District secretaries came to Phnom Penh at least once a year to attend Party conferences where they were lectured by Pol Pot, **NUON Chea** or other leading cadre of the Center. In December 1975 the Organization convened a second study session that District and other cadre attended.³⁷ The Organization held another such session in December 1976,³⁸ which was described as an annual Party Conference and "work session."³⁹
22. Pol Pot, **NUON Chea**, and frequently **KHIEU Samphan** met in Phnom Penh with senior cadre from the Zones and autonomous Sectors to discuss the situation in the "grassroots."⁴⁰ Approximately 1,000 District and other local cadre who came to a study meeting at the Borei Keila stadium in Phnom Penh in 1977 were lectured by **NUON Chea**. The Center also used this as an occasion to investigate the biographies of attendees.⁴¹ District cadre from throughout the country attended a nation-wide policy conference in the second half of 1976.⁴² The SC had the authority to order an examination of the performance of District secretaries by Zone and Sector Party Committees, and repeatedly ordered them to do so, in 1975 and 1976.⁴³ The Party warned of enemies among District and other local cadre.⁴⁴
23. The Center could issue orders to all subordinate levels⁴⁵ and the highest levels of the Party ensured that its views were disseminated to the lowest levels. **NUON Chea** described how the Party reinforced "ideological standpoints" by distributing documents to the Branches and cells, and by organizing training sessions for grassroots cadre once or twice each month.⁴⁶

SECURITY

24. The Standing Committee, again acting in the name of the Central Committee, had the power to authorize lower level organs of the state-Party apparatus to carry out extrajudicial executions, as seen in the decisions of 30 March 1976.⁴⁷ The SC also had the authority to order mass relocations of people on grounds of security concerns, for

example it ordered 50,000 Chams from the Eastern Zone to be dispersed into the Northern Zone.⁴⁸

E3/494

25. Party policy demanded that Central Committee members acquaint themselves with the reality of the situation at the District level, and to ensure – among other things – that local cadre were thorough in their elimination of “counter-revolutionaries.”⁴⁹ In late 1977, the Party called for a review of the performance of District secretaries and the purge of those performing badly. Bad performance included failing to be vigilant about “bad elements” and enemies among the people.⁵⁰
26. Sometimes Pol Pot addressed gatherings of District and Sector cadre from throughout a Zone, as when he spoke at a conference of the West Zone in 1976 about the need to deal with enemies in the cooperatives through continuous absolute measures to smash them. Pol Pot paid close attention to whether cadre at the Sector and District levels maintained a correct political “stance” (i.e., believed in the Party’s “established policies”) and were achieving “the plan” in accordance with the Party’s guidance.⁵¹ Among other things, this meant mobilizing the people to identify “enemies.”⁵² The Center asked for background checks on the qualifications of District and Commune Party secretaries to make sure there were no “enemies” or others with political blots among them.⁵³ In some places, however, District cadres were arrested en masse at the request of Pol Pot and **NUON Chea**.⁵⁴
27. **NUON Chea** and Pol Pot participated in Zone study sessions in the West in the first half of 1977. At one session attended by Sector and District cadre **NUON Chea** stressed the need to search for enemies everywhere including among cadre. The Zone thereafter removed many local cadre.⁵⁵ In another instance, Pol Pot approved a reshuffling of Sector secretaries and expressed concern about the contamination of District and Commune leaderships by politically unreliable elements.⁵⁶ Pol Pot spoke directly to cooperative cadre, and Zone officials organized follow-up sessions for other local cadre.⁵⁷
28. In June 1977, **NUON Chea** convened a conference in Sector 103. All District Committees (or District Party Secretaries), cooperative chairmen, Sector 103 office and ministry committees, and Sector battalion Committees attended the conference. **NUON Chea** gave a presentation about the overall situation throughout the country and the specific situation in Sector 103. He then asked about “entanglements,” in particular how the three tons per hectare plan was going and what percentage had been fulfilled. Some Districts reported 50 per cent, some 60, 70 or 80 per cent. Seeing that the offensive spirit of the District cadre was so low, **NUON Chea** “put forward a rectification directive, highlighting the role and significance of Sector 103 and its possibilities for fulfilling the three and six tons per hectare plan 100 per cent or more.” In July 1977, **NUON Chea** returned to Sector 103 to announce the establishment of the new North Zone.⁵⁸
29. In 1977 and 1978, increasing numbers of District cadre were arrested and brought to S-21 for interrogation and execution. When Zone and Sector leaders were not arrested at the same time, Zone and Sector cadre selected the replacements for District cadre.⁵⁹ The massive arrests of District cadre were an element of a centralized purge process aimed at purifying the Party’s local ranks politically.⁶⁰
30. In addition to its responsibility for security on a national scale, the SC and its organs exercised security responsibilities within its components. The SC maintained at least six re-education camps (K-9, K-10, K-13, K-15, K-16 and K-17) where persons under the SC’s immediate authority would be sent for “tempering” by hard labor if they had broken the rules, or had problems in their biographies.⁶¹ Some such persons were eventually transferred from the re-education camps to S-21 for interrogation and execution. For

example, there are S-21 confessions by staff members from every unit of organization from K-1 to K-20, except for K-8, K-14 and K-19 (which were all agricultural production offices). Some offices, such as K-1, Pol Pot's office, (with nine known S-21 staff confessions) sent numerous individuals to S-21.⁶² In addition, the SC also purged some of its own members, such as in 1978 when Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Industry and Standing Committee Member Vorn Vet was arrested.⁶³

ECONOMICS

31. The Standing Committee exercised centralized control over the entire Cambodian economy, primarily, but not exclusively, through Office 870. Planning, pricing, production, imports and exports, and consumption were all managed by the Party Center. For example, the archives of the Documentation Center of Cambodia contain hundreds of reports and memoranda on these topics addressed to and from **KHIEU Samphan** in Office 870. These documents deal with all aspects of the economy, although many focus on the extraction of (allegedly) surplus production from the Zones, presumably for storage, redistribution, and export.
32. One example of the centralized economic policy-making was that the Standing Committee controlled water policy nationwide as a means of meeting the rice production goals, which were also established by the SC. In a Standing Committee meeting on 8 March 1976, the SC imposed a regime of reporting "every week on the rice field dike situation. Send general reports, send reports through various spearheads. Propose short reports by telegram, [all this so] the Standing Committee knows the situation in order to provide timely instructions."⁶⁴ In this same meeting, the SC issued instructions for waterworks construction in Sectors 103 and 106, describing their plan to expand rice production in Sector 103 by 10,000 hectares, "Therefore, go ahead and make dikes..."⁶⁵
33. Beyond monitoring and intervening in Sector economic affairs, the SC had the authority to allocate factors of production on a national scale. This authority is demonstrated in its decision to move large masses of people from urban areas into the Northwest Zone in 1975 to serve as agricultural labor power. The SC then augmented that Northwestern labor force with additional mass movements of people in 1976 in part to provide manpower for irrigation projects.⁶⁶ The SC reiterated its intention to transfer more people to the Northwest its subsequent visit to the Southwest Zone, where it noted the need to "add up 4 to 5 hundred-thousand-strong work force" to the Northwest.⁶⁷ This additional labor force's primary objective was to construct irrigation works by erecting dams to create reservoirs that would feed networks of canals. As the SC described the problem in 1975, the revolution was "not yet in mastery of the water problem." Consequently, among the most crucial "problems to be solved: 1-Water problems: it is a key direction. Zones and regions must set out plans to deal with all problems [related to water]."⁶⁸
34. Nearly two years later, the SC noted progress in the construction of waterworks when it proclaimed, "In each Zone, there are many major dams. The whole country also has such number and quantity. We never expected that our people can do such a thing in just a short period of time."⁶⁹ This achievement was accomplished by assembling large numbers of people to complete a dam project, then moving those people to the next dam project: "Once we achieve the plan of each base, we have to move on to another. We build irrigation systems in a strategic way to supply one or two cycles of harvest per year. It is really strategic for cultivation. This is the strong movement in the history of Cambodia. 'Strong' here implies the gathering of many forces in just a short term for this year's harvest."⁷⁰ Despite the progress, more work on the waterworks remained. The SC noted that "to build up socialism as planned, self-mastery in the area of water supply is

vital. We must settle this problem in the long run. ... Intensive attacks have to be made in all forms, ranging from small, medium to big, and [we must be] ready for the self-mastery by the end of this year."⁷¹ The Party Center considered its hydraulic engineering initiatives so important that it wrote about them in a message to the United Nations in 1978, saying "[T]he people of Democratic Kampuchea, relying on their own resources, have waged a valiant struggle and have achieved a number of results, particularly in the field of hydraulic engineering which constitute the basis for the country's agriculture."⁷²

35. The SC also controlled economic activity in the military. An SC meeting on 9 October 1975 discussed military issues in great detail and decided on the appointments of division commanders and General Staff officers, the structure and provisioning of army divisions, the order of battle of the armed forces, the establishment of radar installations and radio communications networks, the construction of naval and air forces, and the provision of foreign military assistance.⁷³ The SC, in a meeting on 22 February 1976, decided on military training, armaments manufacture, establishing a new military airport, ammunition depots, and military hospitals.⁷⁴ Similarly, an SC decision of 21 April 1976 ordered the construction of military armaments factories, a new military airport, and military fortifications.⁷⁵ A 30 May 1976 SC meeting discussed "agricultural production work by the army," focusing on building dikes and canals in areas controlled by various military units in the vicinity of Phnom Penh.⁷⁶

COMMUNICATIONS

36. The Standing Committee engaged in continuous communications internally as well as externally with all other echelons of the Party, state and military apparatus through-out the period of ECCC temporal jurisdiction. The SC controlled all communications networks within the DK regime, and all communications were organized in a strictly vertical hierarchy. This structure meant that if two Sectors in different Zones wished to communicate, their messages were sent to the central apparatus, instead of flowing directly to each other.⁷⁷ This method of control ensured that the authorities in the Center were the only people in the country who could form a clear picture of the nationwide situation.
37. Internally, SC members communicated with each other via written documents, large group meetings, and one-on-one and/or small group meetings. Examples of written documents include S-21 confessions which were circulated among SC members and annotated by various members.⁷⁸ In some instances, members of the SC would meet together one-on-one, like a meeting IENG Sary described having with Pol Pot.⁷⁹ Small group meetings of the SC might include just a few members, or all the full members of the SC gathering in an executive session.⁸⁰ Senior CPK leaders were sometimes invited to attend "expanded" sessions of the Standing Committee, where the SC would collect information from and issue directives to senior leaders.⁸¹ Within Phnom Penh, a restricted group of leaders in the upper echelon also enjoyed the use of a telephone network, which included a system of land lines and field telephones.⁸² The field telephones could also reach certain lower echelons of the hierarchy.⁸³
38. Externally, the SC used numerous methods to communicate with top levels of the Party, state and military apparatus. SC members would summon Party members from various echelons to small-scale and large-scale sessions in Phnom Penh at the Party Training School.⁸⁴ The SC also organized and held very large gatherings, best described as rallies, in stadiums.⁸⁵ Party Center organs conveyed SC policy directives via state radio,⁸⁶ and periodical publications such as *Revolutionary Flags* and *Kampuchea* magazines.⁸⁷ The Party Center also disseminated political slogans, which were basic principles that all

Party members were expected to adhere to and enforce.⁸⁸ Telegraphs and other written communications flowed constantly from lower echelons into Office 870. Office 870 then distributed the information to appropriate SC members.⁸⁹ Similarly, the Center sent directives to cadre at Zone, Sector, District, and Cooperative echelons, as well as to all levels of the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea.⁹⁰ The universal authority exercised by the Center is demonstrated by incoming informational communiqués and outgoing instructional directives. Individual SC members or groups of SC members sometimes traveled to the Zones to collect information and issue directives.⁹¹ Additional examples of SC and Office 870 communications patterns in the context of military issues are discussed below under the headings dealing with military affairs.

39. Finally, the Standing Committee also closely monitored international news continually, with daily reports provided directly to senior leaders by the Ministry of Propaganda:

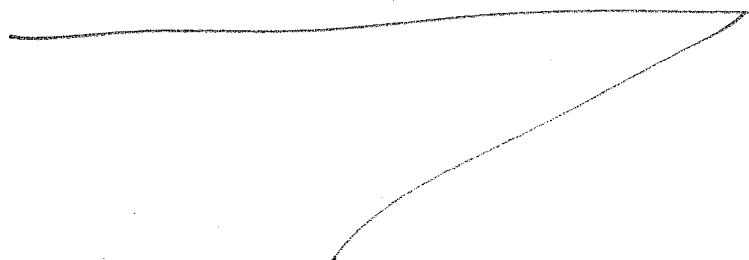
Angkar instructed that the Ministry of Propaganda monitor news and grasp matters closely at hours, everyday, and send news so measures can be taken. The task of monitoring news is divided into two:

- First, ordinary times: Send news to Angkar every day as normal, but report in summary outline on important events related to us, with some opinion and analysis, so that the Standing Committee may take notice and take measures.
- At 5:15 in the afternoon, a personal messenger of Angkar will arrive to get the news at the Ministry of Propaganda.
- Second, in special times: If something especially important happens, telephone and report to Angkar immediately so that timely measures may be taken.⁹²

40. Collectively, the communications patterns discussed above and below show that the Standing Committee exercised effective authority over all aspects of political, economic, internal security, and military affairs in Democratic Kampuchea.

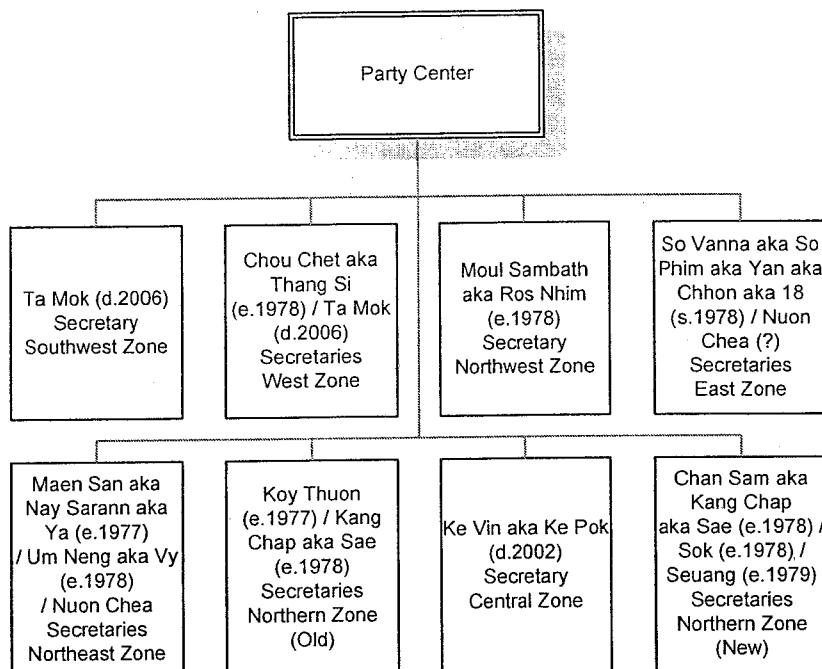
ZONES

41. The CPK Statutes declared that the "organization which has the highest authority and rights in each Zone is the Zone Representational Conference. During the time from one Conference to another, the highest operational organization for each individual Zone is the Zone Committee."⁹³ Zone Committees were responsible to "Designate new work according to the Party line,"⁹⁴ and to "select and appoint" the Zone Committee.⁹⁵ These duties imply that the Zone Secretary was generally responsible for selecting his or her own direct subordinates on the Zone Committee, the Deputy and the Member. Based on my reading of the documents pertaining to the organizational structure of DK Zone Leadership, I have drafted the following diagram that illustrates the command structure of DK Zones.



Democratic Kampuchea Zone Leadership

E3/494



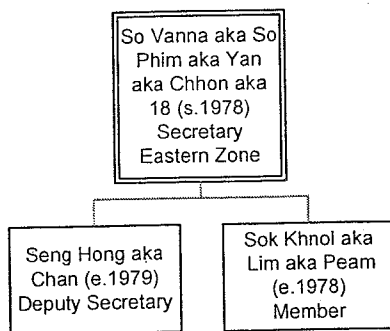
42. Zone Party Committees were tasked to “go down and meld themselves concretely with their Sectors, Districts, [Party] Branches and grassroots in the unions and cooperatives and in the Revolutionary Army... in order to lead and implement duties among the masses.”⁹⁶ These duties and responsibilities imply that CPK leadership at the Zone echelon had broad authority over personnel, organizational, security, and economic matters within their respective Zones.

PERSONNEL AND ORGANIZATIONAL MATTERS

43. The CPK Statutes required Sectors, Districts, lower-level Party Branches and military units to obtain Zone approval when inducting new members into the Party,⁹⁷ and when appointing cadre to leadership positions.⁹⁸ Regarding senior leadership positions within the zones, Zone secretaries had the authority to appoint (and remove) sector secretaries. For example East Zone Secretary So Phim appointed Meah Chhuon alias Voek alias Chhean to Secretary of Sector 21 in September 1975.⁹⁹ So Phim appointed Tauch Chaem alias Sot to Tramoung District Secretary in April 1974, and then promoted him to Secretary of Sector 21 in September 1976, simultaneously placing Chheuan as Deputy Secretary and Kungkea as Member of the Sector Party Committee.¹⁰⁰ Based on my reading of the documents pertaining to the organizational structure of DK Zone leadership, I have drafted the following diagram that illustrates the command structure of the leading Party cell in Eastern Zone. I believe that this illustration is typical of the Zone leadership structure nationwide in DK.

Illustration of Zone Leadership Cell: The Eastern Zone

E3/494



44. Zone secretaries also had the authority to appoint (and remove) the commanders of Zone military units, which is illustrated by the removal of Chhean as a Zone division secretary when he was appointed Sector 21 Secretary. A corollary of the personnel and organizational powers of Zone Secretaries was the ability to sometimes protect subordinates who had been compromised by the confessions of previously arrested persons.¹⁰¹

SECURITY

45. The Zone Committee was also charged to "constantly and tightly grasp all the Sectors, all the District Parties, all the cadres and Party members, along with all the core organizations of the Zone in regards to personal histories..."¹⁰² This provision resulted in the Zone Committees regularly collecting and examining personal biographies that each Party member was required to prepare, periodically update and submit to the Party. These biographies were used to identify and purge bad "elements," i.e., people who had some flaw in their biography which rendered them suspect.
46. The Zone Committee was also granted the authority to "administer discipline in the Zone framework."¹⁰³ The Central Committee delegated this authority to the Zone leadership in a decision on 30 March 1976, which pertained to "the right to decide on smashings within and outside the ranks," stating that in the case of the grassroots "Zone Standing Committees are to make the decision."¹⁰⁴ According to **IENG Sary**, this meant that "each of the Zones was independent such that they could kill anyone they wanted."¹⁰⁵ Zone secretaries thus could order the execution of individuals, including Party members, prisoners of war, and ordinary people. For example, in his S-21 confession, Western Zone Secretary Chou Chet alias Thang Si discussed the execution of persons within his Zone, on his own authority.¹⁰⁶
47. In 1997, **NUON Chea** wrote a book in which he denied that senior CPK cadre were aware of executions and complained that members of his family were killed by Zone secretaries acting on their own authority:

[W]e knew nothing at all about the killings. This was the lower-downs acting irresponsibly, such that my younger-sibling[s]-in-law and younger sibling[s] were all smashed. The lower-downs did the smashing, and we did not go down to as far as the lower levels.¹⁰⁷

48. Later in this passage, **NUON Chea** specifically mentioned that more than "a few [people] died"¹⁰⁸ as a result of the actions of West Zone Secretary Chou Chet, North Zone Secretary Koy Thuon, and Southwest Zone Secretary Ta Mok. **NUON Chea's** assertion

that "we did not go down as far as the lower levels" is contradicted by a directive from Pol Pot for "Committees" to "go down close to the masses," ordering that "the Standing Committee must make sure it goes down to the rice fields frequently, at least 15 days each month."¹⁰⁹ A weekly report from "401" (an alias for West Zone Secretary Chou Chet) to "Angkar" (an alias for Pol Pot and/or **NUON Chea**) dated 4 August 1978 mentions that "100 Vietnamese people - small and big, young and old - have been smashed" along with 60 other ordinary people who have been "smashed."¹¹⁰ This telegram confirms that the Zone leadership had the authority to carry out mass executions, and that the Zone kept the upper echelon informed of these executions.

49. Each Zone Party Committee commanded armed units. Thus the Zone Secretary also had the authority to deploy Zone troops. In May 1977, for example, Central Zone Secretary Ke Pauk deployed mobile Zone troops to Sectors 41 and 42 in order to guard against unrest. In August 1977, Pauk ordered the arrest of former Division 117 Chairman Sei and many of his subordinates.¹¹¹
50. All Zones had their own military General Staffs, which were typically chaired by members of the Zone Party Committees. The effective chain of command appears to have been similar to the Centre's chain of command, namely from the Party Committee Secretary to the General Staff Chairman to the unit Party Secretaries. In some Zones, the General Staff Chairman doubled as Security Chairman. Elsewhere however, the roles appear to have been divided, with separate General Staff and Security chiefs answering to the same Party Secretary.¹¹² Thus the Zone Party Secretary had "military units of organization" under his control, and exerted this authority through General Staffs.

ECONOMICS

51. Zone Committees had the authority to implement and adjust economic policies within their Zones. As suggested above, for example, Central Zone Secretary Ke Pauk organized the leadership over agriculture in his Zone.
52. In December 1977, the Party Center "proposed that for the 1978 plan the Zones and Sectors should fix clear-cut figures regarding how many hectares of paddy will be farmed once and twice, regarding industrial crops, the raising of all kinds of animals, transport and the elimination of malaria and illiteracy. What the Party requires in knowledge of the extent of socialist construction in every domain through-out the country in order to be able to estimate appropriately the production to be exported and the production to be kept as supply."¹¹³ This proposal illustrates the role and responsibility of the Zones in implementing the economic plans generated by the Party Center. In line with the emphasis of the SC on "storming attacks"¹¹⁴ in agriculture and other fields of endeavor, a telegram from the North Zone dated 2 April 1976 reported on "The problem of the production movement: a directive has been put forward for the whole of the North Zone enthusiastically to carry out a storming attack to farm paddy. All three sectors are carrying out storming attacks to plant early-year paddy."¹¹⁵
53. The construction of waterworks on a national scale, and the movement of large numbers of people from one Zone to another to accomplish these large-scale infrastructure projects is another illustration of the Zones executing economic policies generated by the SC. An individual named Tuk Hol [today known as Cham Prasith, Minister of Commerce] experienced this process first-hand. He and his family were deported from Phnom Penh to Kandal Province's Sa'ang District on 17 April 1975.¹¹⁶ In September of 1975, one month after the Standing Committee called for 400,000 to 500,000 people to be transferred to the Northwest Zone for agriculture-related projects,¹¹⁷ Hol and part of his

family were trucked to (then) Battambang Province's Phnom Srok District, where they were forced into mass labor gangs to dig canals for the massive Trapeang Thma Reservoir. This transfer of forced labor demonstrates the responsiveness of the Zones to orders issued by the Standing Committee, as well as the initiative taken by the Zones to carrying out those orders.

54. The Zones reported on the progress of the waterworks construction to the Center. In April 1977, for example, the Northwest Zone reported that a) Sector 1 patched a breach in the Kang Hort Dam, and was constructing concrete sluice gates; b) Sector 2 built six big dams and one big water basin; c) Sector 3 had 55,154 meters of canals, 11 dams and 30 ponds; d) Sector 4 built five medium water basins; e) Sector 5 built 30 kilometers of large canals and was adding "three sluice gates of Yuttasass [strategic] water basin at Trapeang Thmar"; and f) Sector 7 built 2 big water basins, and had people working on deepening canals.¹¹⁸

COMMUNICATIONS

55. Zone Committees communicated regularly with Sectors, Districts and Communes, as well as with the Center. The Zone leadership transmitted policies and directives from the Center to lower echelons in the Zone, along with its own instructions. The Zone leadership also collected information on political, economic and security events at the lower echelons, summarized the information and provided it to the Center. This communications system is illustrated in the report on waterworks projects in the Northwest Zone from April 1977.¹¹⁹ On certain occasions, however, District- or Sector-level reports were transmitted in whole by the Zone to the Center. For example, a note from Sector 24 Secretary Chhouk was forwarded by East Zone Secretary Chhon to Pol Pot and other SC members.¹²⁰
56. The available evidence shows that, in general, Zone communications were organized in a vertical fashion, along the lines of the chain of command. There was minimal horizontal communication between Zones. Zone-to-Zone communications were transmitted through the Center, as illustrated by the telegram to Pol Pot from Eastern Zone Secretary So Phim alias Chon, complaining about the lack of cooperation from Central Zone Secretary Ke Pauk in implementing the Center's plan to deport 150,000 Cham residents from the East Zone to other Zones.¹²¹ S-21 confessions, however, record many instances of alleged direct horizontal communications between Zones and other sister echelons. These communications were regarded as evidence of treasonous intent.¹²² This shows the Center's desire to control communications and to enforce a strict hierarchical communications system.
57. Ample Zone-to-Center communication was conducted via telegraph and/or couriered messages, although face-to-face encounters between Zone and Center leaders also took place in meetings in Phnom Penh,¹²³ and less frequently, during SC member visits to Zones.¹²⁴ Similarly, Zone communications with lower echelons within their chain of command were also often in written form,¹²⁵ although Zone leadership often called meetings at Zone headquarters to have Sector, District and Commune leaders report on the conditions of their units of organization and give further instructions.¹²⁶ There are also many recorded instances of Zone leaders personally inspecting conditions at various echelons within their Zones, collecting information and disseminating directives to subordinate leaders,¹²⁷ as required by Party regulations.¹²⁸ Organizational and personnel matters were frequently discussed at regular Party meetings mandated by Party Statutes.¹²⁹ Security, political and economic issues were most likely discussed at other types of meetings, such as one-on-one, small groups or committees, and large groups.¹³⁰

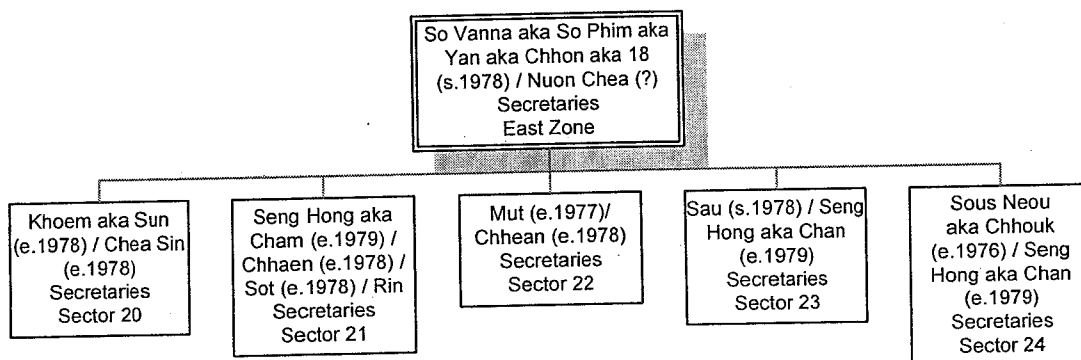
The Center required Zones to report at least weekly to the Center regarding certain matters.¹³¹ Consequently the lower echelons most likely reported to the Zones on a similar schedule.¹³²

E3/494

SECTORS

58. CPK Statutes provided that the "organization which has the highest authority and rights in each Sector and City is the Sector or City Representational Conference. During the time from one Sector or City Conference to another, the highest operational organization for that Sector or City is the Sector or City Committee."¹³³ Sector Committees were tasked to "Designate new work according to the Party line,"¹³⁴ and to "Select and appoint the new leadership organization, the Sector-City Committee ... with the prior examination, deliberation, and agreement of the Zone Committee and the Central Committee."¹³⁵ Sector Committees were also responsible to "Constantly grasp the masses in the unions and cooperatives and in the Revolutionary Army within its Sector,"¹³⁶ and to "Constantly grasp the District organizations, the Branch organizations, the cadres, and Party members along with all the core organizations of the Sector in regards to personal histories."¹³⁷ Finally, Sector Party Committees were responsible for "maintaining a system of reporting to upper echelon on the situation and the work of the Sector."¹³⁸ Thus, CPK leadership at the Sector echelon had broad authority over personnel and organizational matters, security, and economics within their respective Sectors.
59. Based on my reading of the documents pertaining to the organizational structure of DK Sector leadership, I have drafted the following diagram that illustrates the command structure of the Eastern Zone Sector, which I believe to be typical of the organizational structure of Sectors in general.

Illustration of Sector Leadership: The Eastern Zone



PERSONNEL AND ORGANIZATIONAL MATTERS

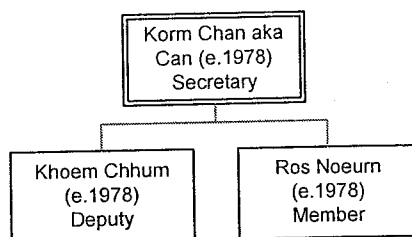
60. Subject to approval by the Zone and Center organizations, Sector secretaries were responsible for appointing (and removing) members of the Sector Party Committee, specifically, the Deputy (responsible for security) and the Member (responsible for economics). Sector secretaries also had the authority to appoint (and remove) District secretaries, as described in the confessions of West Zone Secretary Chou Chet alias Thang Si, and Sector 25 Secretary Teum Sen alias Sit.¹³⁹
61. The Party Center closely monitored events at the Sector level, as explained in a 11 May 1977 telegram to 870 from Yi in Sector 505, reporting on the "Enemy Situation" and the

"Planting Situation."¹⁴⁰ This telegram complained about incursions by workers from Sector 21 into the territory of Sector 505, and requested that 870 direct Sector 21 to inform 505 of anyone coming to "cut leaves and trees" in areas along the border of 505.

E3/494

62. Based on my reading of the documents pertaining to the organizational structure of DK Sector leadership, I have drafted the following diagram that illustrates the command structure of the CPK leadership cell for Central Zone Sector 43.

Illustration of Sector Cell: Central Zone Sector 43



SECURITY

63. In mid-1978, the Party Center described the process of purging the Party in a "special" issue of the CPK magazine called *Revolutionary Flag*. The Party Center focused special attention on the need to search for enemies at the Sector echelon, saying "...we have been able to sweep cleanly away more than 99% of the contemptible major concealed enemies boring from within. ... Things throughout the country must be examined like this. Each Sector must be examined like this. Each District must be examined like this. Each Cooperative must be examined like this. The army and ministries and offices must be examined like this."¹⁴¹ Through pronouncements like this, the Party Center encouraged the process of a continuing search for and purge of suspected enemies at all levels of the organization. "We must see as key the duties of attacking the domestic enemy, that this is related to every one of all our other duties. Every Party level must therefore adopt the role of leading the army and the people to attack all such enemies, sweep them cleanly away, sweep, and sweep and sweep again and again ceaselessly, so that our Party forces are pure, our leading forces at every level and every sphere are clean at all times."¹⁴²
64. Sector leaders had the authority to execute suspected dissidents, as shown by an 18 July 1976 telegram from Bu Phat alias Hang, Secretary of Sector 103 to "Beloved and Missed Brother," and copied to **NUON Chea**, Son Sen and **IENG Sary**. The telegram reports that ten combatants "were already smashed" in line with "the Sector's preliminary conclusion."¹⁴³ Sector level security personnel also had the authority to torture prisoners, as demonstrated by a note from Suas Nau alias Suas Son alias Chhouk, Secretary of Sector 24, to So Phim alias Chhon, East Zone Secretary, which Phim subsequently forwarded to Pol Pot with copies to **NUON Chea**, Son Sen and **IENG Sary**.¹⁴⁴
65. In his S-21 confession, Sector 43 Deputy Secretary Chhüm reported that Sector 41 Secretary An told him that he was smashing people in Sector 41 for "the slightest mistakes" and executing old society figures starting from former ten house chiefs up.¹⁴⁵ A Central Zone cadre named Ti purportedly said he was reducing the population from 90,000 to 70,000 by smashing people for minor offenses.¹⁴⁶ In the Central Zone, Sector-level cadre were implementing Party Center instructions to seek out and destroy suspected enemies.

66. In Sector 4 of the Northwest Zone, security personnel also took measures to destroy purported enemies. According to the confession of one Sector 4 interrogator, "from mid-1976 through 1977 ... the people, combatants and women who had already been brought in to the Sector Security Office were beaten into admitting that they were systematic traitors to the revolution..."¹⁴⁷ Interrogators "wrote up documents to the Organization to get it to round up anyone and everyone among the people, combatants and women that the prisoners had responded was liberal, had stolen, had contradictions, but whose guilt fell short of betrayal of the revolution. They wrote that they were all systematic traitors so that they could arrest them, bring them in and smash them."¹⁴⁸
67. Sector Party Committees commanded armed units. Like Zone Committees, the Sector Party Committees were in "overall charge" of all matters within their jurisdiction, whether military or civilian. Most Sectors had their own military General Staffs, which were typically chaired members of the Sector Party Committees. The effective chain of command appears to have been similar to the Center's chain of command, namely from the Party Committee Secretary to the General Staff Chairman to the unit Party Secretaries.¹⁴⁹
68. Notwithstanding the authority claimed by some Sectors to execute persons under their control, a report from Sector 1 of the Northwest dated 28 May 1977 asked "Angkar" for permission to smash a person named Pich because he allegedly attempted to steal weapons and escape to Thailand.¹⁵⁰ The same report described several incidents of people allegedly interfering in various ways with work to construct dams and other waterworks.

ECONOMICS

69. In November 1976, the Standing Committee established a goal that single cropped land needed to produce three tons of rice per hectare per year and that double cropped land needed to produce six tons per hectare per year, while requiring Sector 103 to have 2000 hectares of double cropped land.¹⁵¹ The following month, the Sector convened a study session and conference to disseminate the plan to build dams in every District. The Sector would move labour from one District to another, as needed. Construction began in late January or early February 1977, depending on the District. All Districts began asking the Sector for iron and cement for the water gates. The Sector quickly became overwhelmed with requests and asked the higher levels to provide the materials. However there were never enough materials, so many water gates built were temporary and in many places the work fell behind schedule, causing dams to collapse during the rainy season. The Sector sent labour forces to rebuild the dams, thus diverting them from production work. Consequently rice production was further delayed, and it became clear that second cropping would also be adversely affected.¹⁵² This sequence of events illustrates both the responsiveness of the Sectors to the orders of the Center, as well as the autonomy the Sectors exercised in carrying out their plans.
70. The Party Center decreed that "Zones and regions must set out plans to deal with all problems [related to water]."¹⁵³ As a result, dams were under construction in Sectors across the country. Some of these dams were improperly built due to a lack of technical expertise and/or adequate supervision. For example, in April 1977, Sector 43 Secretary Chăn summoned Sector 43 Deputy Secretary Khoem Chhũm to inspect the site of dam construction. Chhũm reported in his S-21 confession that he noticed Chăn was allowing the dam construction to proceed without the removal of tree stumps, grass and alluvial soil, in order to finish the job quickly. Chhũm said that as a result, the dam was never able to hold water.¹⁵⁴

71. In December 1977, the Party Center "proposed that for the 1978 plan the Zones and Sectors should fix clear-cut figures regarding how many hectares of paddy will be farmed once and twice, regarding industrial crops, the raising of all kinds of animals, transport and the elimination of malaria and illiteracy. What the Party requires in knowledge of the extent of socialist construction in every domain through-out the country in order to be able to estimate appropriately the production to be exported and the production to be kept as supply."¹⁵⁵ This illustrates the role and responsibility of the Sectors in carrying out the economic plans generated by the Party Center.

COMMUNICATIONS

72. Party Statutes required Sector Party Committees to keep upper echelons informed of the work and the situation in the Sector by maintaining regular communications.¹⁵⁶ Sectors routinely and frequently communicated with the Zone, but in some cases Sectors communicated directly with the Center.¹⁵⁷ This bypassing of the Zones may have been particularly common for security matters, although the Center was also keen to receive economic and political information from lower echelons on a regular basis.¹⁵⁸ Sectors also received communications containing instructions directly from both the Zone and the Center.¹⁵⁹ Sectors were also summoned by the Zone¹⁶⁰ and the Center¹⁶¹ to meetings where they reported on their activities and received instructions.
73. Sectors communicated directly with Districts, Communes, and regional militia,¹⁶² and occasionally with even lower echelon units such as village chiefs, *kong roi* (Group of 100) chiefs, *kong chalat* (mobile work brigades), and *chhlop* units.¹⁶³ Given the relatively shorter physical distances involved, communications within Sectors likely involved more face-to-face contact than in Zones or at the Center.¹⁶⁴ Subordinates were frequently summoned from the Districts, Communes and Cooperatives for meetings at Sector headquarters.¹⁶⁵ Members of Sector Committees also traveled within their area of operations to collect information and issue directives.¹⁶⁶ Upper echelon leaders – from the Zone and Center – also toured Sectors to inspect conditions, collect information, and issue directives.¹⁶⁷ Communication within the Sector could be done by field telephones and other communications equipment, such as ICOM radios.¹⁶⁸ Nonetheless, a good deal of reporting at the Sector level, particularly reports to upper echelons, involved written communications.¹⁶⁹ Similarly, the Sector echelon received written guidance from higher levels via courier.¹⁷⁰

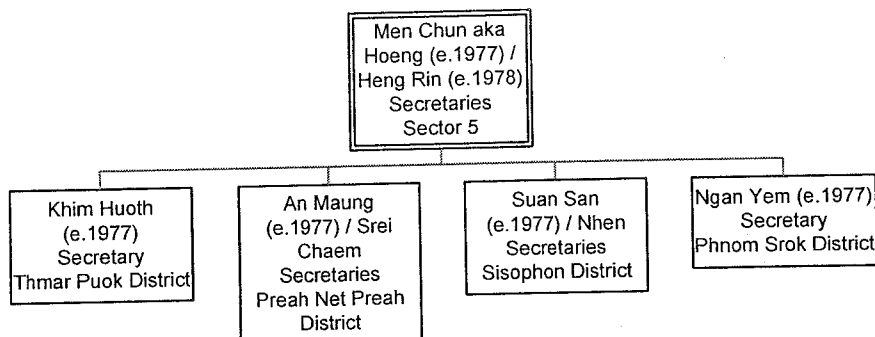
DISTRICTS

74. CPK Statutes provided that the "organization which has the highest authority and rights in each District is the Conference representing the District. During the time from one District Conference to another, the operational organization for each individual District is the District Committee."¹⁷¹ According to CPK Statutes, District Committees had the authority to "Designate new work according to the Party line,"¹⁷² and to "Select and appoint the new leadership organization, the District Committee ... with the prior examination, deliberation, and agreement of the Sector Committee and the Zone Committee."¹⁷³ District Party Committees were to "Constantly and tightly grasp the masses in the unions and cooperatives and in the Revolutionary Army within its District framework politically, ideologically, and organizationally,"¹⁷⁴ as well as to "Constantly and tightly grasp the Branches, cadres, and Party members along with all the core organizations of the District in regards to personal histories, politically, ideologically, and organizationally."¹⁷⁵ Additionally, District Party Committees were to "administer discipline in the District framework" and were responsible for "maintaining a system of

reporting to upper echelon on the situation and the work of the District."¹⁷⁶ These duties and responsibilities imply that CPK leadership at the District echelon had broad authority over personnel and organizational matters, security, and economic matters within their respective Districts. Based on my reading of the documents pertaining to the organizational structure of DK District leadership, I have drafted the following diagram that illustrates the command structure of the District leadership in Northwest Zone Sector 5. I believe that this general organizational structure was typical of District CPK organization nationwide.

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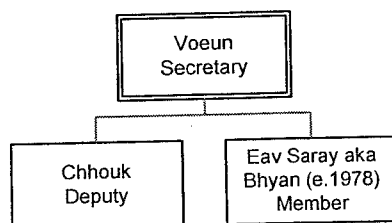
Illustration of District Leadership: NW Zone Sector 5



PERSONNEL AND ORGANIZATIONAL MATTERS

75. District secretaries appointed and removed Commune secretaries, as described in the confession of Teum Sen alias Sit.¹⁷⁷ District secretaries could also appoint and remove their District security chiefs.¹⁷⁸ District secretaries assigned leadership of mobile brigades (roving groups 100-300 workers, usually young people).¹⁷⁹ They also conducted training, education and propaganda sessions for Commune, Cooperative and mobile brigade leaders, which often meant exhorting lower echelon leaders to force their labourers to work harder than they presently were. Based on my reading of the documents pertaining to the organizational structure of DK District leadership, I have drafted the following diagram illustrating a typical District cell, the command structure of Sambo District in the Northeast Zone's Sector 505.

Illustration of District Cell: NE Sector 505 Sambo District



SECURITY

76. The District Party Committees commanded armed units. Like Zone Committees and Sector leaders, the District Party Committees were in "overall charge" of all matters within their jurisdiction, whether military or civilian, and were thus able to use force to

ensure adherence to their decisions.¹⁸⁰ The District Party Secretary typically exercised this control and exerted his military authority through a General Staff.

E3/494

77. District Secretaries were selected for their dedication to "defending the country," a concept that included the suppression of internal enemies. They had to be "strong" in attacking the enemies.¹⁸¹ District Secretaries were considered a crucial level of leadership, second in importance only to the Central Committee itself, because they linked the cooperatives to the higher echelons.¹⁸²
78. Although Pol Pot noted that it was up to local cadre to organize the attacks against enemies and to do so in the right direction,¹⁸³ the Districts were responsible for ensuring that every Cooperative continuously identified and eliminated enemies in order to build socialism quickly.¹⁸⁴ Pol Pot stated that "All problems" were up to the Party in each locality,¹⁸⁵ but leading cadre of higher echelons must also involve themselves in local work, with Zone and Sector cadre helping District cadre to direct the work.¹⁸⁶ This involved maintaining absolute authority over counter-revolutionaries, but also included refashioning "intellectuals, petty bourgeois, capitalists, feudal landowners [and] former government officials" through political re-education and labour.¹⁸⁷ Actions had to be carried out on the basis of "orders from the Zone, from the Sector, from the District, from the production units, and orders from the Cooperatives."¹⁸⁸
79. The Party Center noted that "...we have been able to sweep cleanly away more than 99% of the contemptible major concealed enemies boring from within. ... Things throughout the country must be examined like this. Each Sector must be examined like this. Each District must be examined like this. Each Cooperative must be examined like this. The army and ministries and offices must be examined like this."¹⁸⁹ Through pronouncements like this, the Party Center encouraged the process of a continuing search for and purge of suspected enemies at all levels of the organization. "Therefore carry out examinations in the Cooperatives and the Districts. Attention must be paid to examining these two levels because they are side-by-side with the people. Other levels must also be examined. These are maggots in our flesh which must be dug out."¹⁹⁰
80. While people accused of "not respecting the plan" in Communes and mobile brigades might be identified as suspects by Commune leadership, their executions were usually carried out at the District level.¹⁹¹ On other occasions, District chairmen would order the Commune-level security forces, the *chhlop*, to carry out executions of suspected "traitors." District officials would also order the arrest of Commune-level and Cooperative-level cadre on accusations, for example, of "being Vietnamese links."

ECONOMICS

81. The Center closely monitored economic activity at the District echelon. For example, in August 1977, the Center sent an inspector named Se to examine compliance with Party's economic development plans in Sector 103. The inspector noted problems with dams. Se's report stated: "In the areas governed by Comrade Dũch there were also dams, but they could not be used to stop water from flowing. Because [before building the dams], geographical features had not been clearly grasped. It is a waste of people's strength, which affects cultivation as well as people's living conditions."¹⁹² Se also reported that Mo Kak Dam in Chikreng was breached. Soon after this report, **NUON Chea** announced the reorganization of Sector 103, and transferred a District leader, Dũch, to B-1 in Phnom Penh. Dũch was subsequently sent to S-21.¹⁹³

COMMUNICATIONS

E3/494

82. Similarly to other echelons, Party Statutes required the District Committee to maintain a system of communications with "the upper echelon."¹⁹⁴ Because Districts were relatively small, however, direct attention by the Center to affairs at the District level was limited. In the usual case of an established Zone, Sector and Zone leadership communicated directly with the District.¹⁹⁵ For example, approval from the Sector and Zone Committees was required for the appointment of District-level leaders.¹⁹⁶ However, before Sector 103 was incorporated into a Zone organizational framework,¹⁹⁷ **NUON Chea** organized a purge of Districts in Sector 103.
83. Relatively few examples of written communications between Districts and lower echelons exist.¹⁹⁸ Those that do exist suggest that the lower echelons tended to defer to the views of District cadre when deciding how to dispose of prisoners who were listed as priority "enemies." Those priorities were then passed down the chain of command to the Commune and Cooperative levels for implementation.¹⁹⁹ Commune-level authorities were also responsible for collecting "biographies" of people within their area, and providing the biographies to the District level for examination in the search for "enemies."²⁰⁰ Given the proximity of District leadership to the Communes and Cooperatives, a larger proportion of communications were face-to-face meetings than with upper echelon communications.²⁰¹ Personal communications took place in one-on-one meetings as well as larger gatherings of Commune and Cooperative leaders, called to the District office to provide reports and receive instructions.²⁰² District cadre also toured their areas of operations to inspect conditions at the lower echelons.²⁰³

COMMUNES/COOPERATIVES/BRANCHES

84. The "Branch" was the lowest level of organization in the CPK hierarchy. It primarily existed in Communes, Villages and Cooperatives, as well as in factories, military company-level units, worksites, and Ministry-Offices.²⁰⁴ The Branch's duty was to "proselytize the popular masses," and "grasp and agitate popular mass organizations."²⁰⁵ The Branch was also required to maintain "a system of reporting to upper echelon on the situation and work of the Branch, etc."

PERSONNEL AND ORGANIZATIONAL MATTERS

85. Unlike higher echelons of the Party organization, which were generally organized in a three-person cell structure, the Branch echelon often included more cadre. "Branches which have from three to eight Party members must select a Secretary and a Deputy Secretary to lead routine work. Branches with nine or more Party members must select a Branch Committee to lead."²⁰⁶ In one commune, for example, "There were six civilian administrators: the Sangkat (collective) chief, deputy collective chief, the village chief, deputy village chief, and the 'member' (second deputy)."²⁰⁷
86. Branch Party organizations were empowered to "Select and appoint new Branch leadership organization," "with the prior examination, deliberation, and agreement of the District Committee, Sector Committee, and Zone Committee."²⁰⁸ Branches were tasked to "Designate new work according to the Party line,"²⁰⁹ and to maintain "a system of reporting to upper echelon on the situation and the work of the Branch."²¹⁰ Because the Branch was the lowest level of the CPK structure and in direct contact with the people in the Village or Cooperative levels, the CPK's internal information network conveyed intelligence from the smallest political-administrative unit to the highest, the Standing Committee.

E3/494

87. Commune-level and Cooperative-level cadre had the authority to select individuals for training to become mobile brigade leaders or achieve other positions of small-group leadership.²¹¹ A Cooperative might contain 500 households, and the Party aimed to cultivate between 100 and 300 cadre within any given Cooperative to provide leadership over various aspects of agricultural production and livelihood maintenance.²¹²

SECURITY

88. CPK Statutes required Branch Party Organizations to "Closely grasp organization in the strengthening and expanding of and the screening of Party members and core organizations."²¹³ This requirement empowered Branch organizations to participate in the search for internal enemies. As the Party Center described it, "...we have been able to sweep cleanly away more than 99% of the contemptible major concealed enemies boring from within. ... Things throughout the country must be examined like this. Each Sector must be examined like this. Each District must be examined like this. Each Cooperative must be examined like this. The army and ministries and offices must be examined like this. Therefore carry out examinations in the Cooperatives and the Districts. Attention must be paid to examining these two levels because they are side-by-side with the people. Other levels must also be examined. These are maggots in our flesh which must be dug out."²¹⁴ Through pronouncements like this, the Party Center encouraged the process of a continuing search for, and purge of, suspected enemies at all levels of CPK society.
89. At the level of Villages and Communes, and later when this echelon was organized into Cooperatives, Branch Party leadership commanded armed units that enforced Branch Party orders. Commune and cooperative chairmen controlled armed "guerrillas" or "militia" known as *chhlop*.²¹⁵ Among other duties, the *chhlop* guarded forced labor gangs in order to ensure that they exerted maximum effort. As one survivor described it, "There were 400 workers in our commune. We were controlled by 10 armed supervisors plus a number of unarmed Party members. I worked in a group of 12 villagers, and our group was usually controlled by one of the armed guards."²¹⁶ *Chhlop* also spied on citizens in order to identify potential dissidents. "At dusk, soldiers on patrol and spies (*chhlop*) from Cheng Kal came into the village to hide under the houses and listen to what members of the family say to each other."²¹⁷
90. Commune level officials were also responsible for deciding who should be "refashioned." "Refashioning" meant being sent for harsh labor and political education in special work camps, as punishment for failing to achieve work quotas, or for minor infractions of the rules.²¹⁸ Commune level leaders also had the authority to order the *chhlop* to execute persons who had been accused of making mistakes. Describing one such "mistake," a witness from Staung District asserted that:

The head of the village had the power of life and death over all the villagers. One day two guards searched the hut of a man called BUONNA, who had two small children with bad cases of diarrhea. The guards were looking for implements and household utensils to confiscate for the collective use. During the search, a tin of rice and milk was discovered. BUONNA would not let them take it, as the small children were in need of it. . . . When night fell the bound victim was taken and executed two kilometres outside the village.²¹⁹

91. Other witnesses have described similar situations where Commune or Village chiefs would rely on the *chhlop* to execute individuals. "When the civil administrators wish to

E3/494

execute someone, they call for soldiers to come to the village."²²⁰ For example, in 1977, a *chhlop* unit in the Eastern Zone's Sector 22 "caught" a man accused of being a Lon Nol military officer, and along with his wife, they were "brought to '08' of the district by Angkar." The husband was then "taken out in June 1977."²²¹ In another instance, *chhlop* in the Southwest Zone's Tram Kok District arrested two men who were overheard commenting that "there is no freedom."²²² A cadre named Ar Saom, who forwarded these two prisoners to the security police at the Kraing Ta Chan security office, requested "Please, Comrade Brother, accept and further interrogate him in order to find his secret lines." This same report noted that "Angkar has recruited as militiamen all the base people's children, boys at the age of 13 [or older]. They are now under further training."

92. In areas near international borders, *chhlop* also guarded against external enemies. On June 24, 1977, for example, a *chhlop* unit "caught seven Vietnamese together with some belongings in the vicinity of orchard in the middle of Romeas Chol and Bang Kao Village, Memut District" of Sector 21 in the Eastern Zone.²²³

ECONOMICS

93. CPK Statutes exhorted Branch cadre to "grasp and stir up popular mass organizations at each site in the unions and the cooperatives and in the Revolutionary Army to carry out revolutionary activities strongly in accordance with the tasks of national defense and the construction of Democratic Kampuchea in the Party direction of socialist revolution and building socialism."²²⁴
94. Commune and cooperative level cadre received instructions for the construction of waterworks during meetings at the District or Sector level, and would subsequently convene meetings at the local level to inform their subordinates of the work plan. Cadre at this level sometimes forced people to work "day and night," in order to meet the ambitious demands for the construction of canals and other waterworks projects, and the high rice production quotas.²²⁵ Young men, women, boys and girls "did all the heavy work in the dry season, such as the construction of dams and dikes and digging canals, and in the wet season the cultivation of rice."²²⁶

COMMUNICATIONS

95. As the lowest echelon in the CPK organizational hierarchy, the Branch was closest to the population. The Branch communicated with the District in written form for certain purposes, including the transmission of biographies (see above under District Communications),²²⁷ queries regarding the disposition of detained "enemies,"²²⁸ and reporting on economic and organizational matters.²²⁹ Branch units also communicated verbally at meetings at the District level to report on activity in the "grass roots."²³⁰ Party branches at ministries in Phnom Penh might communicate with the "upper echelon" in the person of the Pol Pot himself.²³¹
96. Branch, Commune and Cooperative cadre usually communicated verbally with their subordinates due the low level of literacy at these levels.²³² Commune-level meetings were another common method of communicating to the masses. At these meetings, convened anywhere from once every ten days to monthly depending on the location, CPK cadre instructed the masses in the fundamentals of socialist revolution, informed them of directives and goals from the upper echelons, and exhorted them to exert more energy in their work.²³³

PARTY CENTER MILITARY COMMITTEE

E3/494

97. The Constitution of Democratic Kampuchea describes the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea as "an army of the people made up of men and women fighters and cadres who are the children of the labourers, peasants, and other Kampuchean working people."²³⁴ According to the official magazines of Democratic Kampuchea, the army had two core roles: 1) external security; and 2) internal security.²³⁵
98. CPK Statutes explain that all units of the Revolutionary Army are under the control of the Central Committee. "All three categories of the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea, the regular [army], sector [army], and the militias must be in very part [sic] under the absolute leadership monopoly of the Communist Party of Kampuchea."²³⁶ "The Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea is organized according to democratic centralism. The Party Central Committee designates the implementation of democratic centralism according [to] the concrete situation."²³⁷ Since the Central Committee was normally not in session, the Standing Committee of the Central Committee was responsible for day-to-day management. The Standing Committee noted in the minutes of its 9 October 1975 meeting that "national defense is being arranged at the Center."²³⁸
99. The Military Committee of the Central Committee, although not mentioned in the CPK Statutes, was a key organ of DK whose existence is confirmed in documents and statements. According to an official commentary on the Statutes, such a body could be established in the name of the Central Committee as a "separate department" under its "direct or indirect charge."²³⁹ According to **IENG Sary**, from 1970 to 1975 the Military Committee was chaired by Pol Pot and its other members were **NUON Chea**, Sao Pheum, Ta Mok and Son Sen.²⁴⁰ After 1975, **IENG Sary** said the Military Committee's formal composition remained unchanged, but in practice its work was primarily conducted by Pol Pot, **NUON Chea** and Son Sen, with the assistance of Son Sen's wife, Yun Yat *alias* At.²⁴¹ **IENG Sary** said of So Phim and Ta Mok that although in name "they were still there" in the Military Committee, "in concrete terms, it was as if they weren't in it."²⁴² Translated notebook entries from the November 1978 Party Congress place the "Party Centre Military Committee ... under the leadership of the Center's Standing Committee" and describe it as "responsible for all military" matters. The notebook gives its members and their duties as:

Pol Pot: Chairman

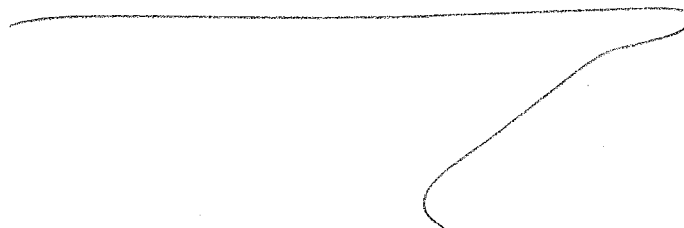
NUON Chea: Deputy, responsible for political matters

Ta Mok: Deputy, responsible for military matters

Van: Committee member²⁴³

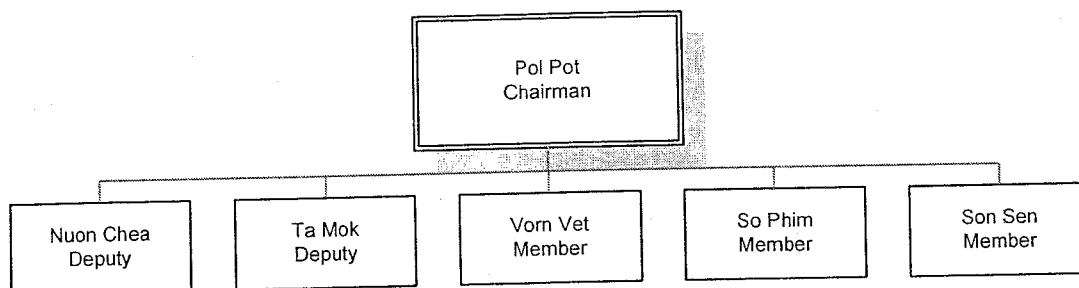
Khiev: Committee member, ..., Chairman of the Staff Council.²⁴⁴

100. Based on my reading of the documents pertaining to the organizational structure of DK military, I have drafted the following diagram that illustrates the command structure of Party Center Military Committee.



Party Center Military Committee

E3/494



101. The authority of the SC's Military Committee is illustrated in the range of information and requests for instructions sent by military units to the Center. Typically those requests were directed to Office 870. The strict horizontal segregation enforced by the Party Center is shown by a communication from Comrade Lin of the East Zone Headquarters to Office 870.²⁴⁵ Lin requests the assistance of 870 in transferring a prisoner from the East Zone's Sector 22 to a military unit of the Southwest Zone's Sector 25, even though the two sectors share a common border. A second message from Comrade Lin to Office 870 on the same date reports Vietnamese "aggression by plowing" along the border of Sectors 20 and 23, to which Sector 23 military forces were ordered to respond by shelling the "plowing teams."²⁴⁶
102. A message from Phuong in the East Zone to Office 870 on 23 December 1977 reports on combat with Vietnamese forces who are conducting an incursion into Cambodian territory, describing difficulties that East Zone commanders are encountering in communicating with their military units.²⁴⁷ A second message from Phuong to Office 870 on the same day analyzes the reasons for Vietnamese military advances and a lackluster response from DK defenders.²⁴⁸ The next day, 24 December 1977, Phuong sent another message to Office 870, which reports an incursion by Vietnamese forces into the Memut Rubber Plantation, and requests that 870 inform East Zone Secretary So Phim, as well as issue instructions to divisional commanders to react, as local forces were already occupied at the border and dispersed.²⁴⁹ All three messages were copied to "Uncle" (Pol Pot), "Uncle Nuon" (NUON Chea), "Brother Vann" (IENG Sary), "Brother Vorn" (Vorn Vet), "Brother Khieu," (Son Sen), "The Office," and "Documentation."
103. The Center directed national defense at the end of the regime. A message titled "Advice from 870" was dispatched on 3 January 1979. It described in detail guerilla warfare measures to be taken in resisting the Vietnamese attacks, and ended with the following note:
- This advice must be disseminated and studied by Party [cadres] at zone, regions, and districts, cooperatives, by battle field commanders, division commanders, battalion commanders, company commanders, platoon commanders, unit commanders, and soldiers, commanders at each target, many times until it is completely understood.²⁵⁰
104. This document not only confirms the political and military structure of the DK regime, but it also shows that Office 870 had the authority to issue orders to all echelons of the political and military structure of DK.

New.

COMMUNICATIONS

E3/494

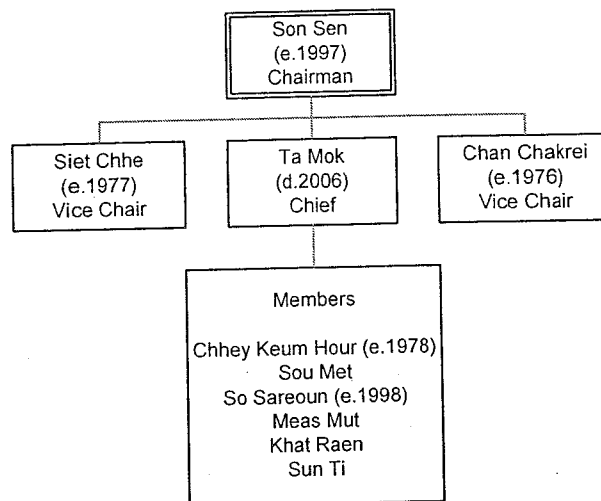
105. To the best of my knowledge, little is known about the communications patterns of the Party Center Military Committee. No meeting minutes are known to survive from its deliberations, and none of the members have spoken about its internal operations. A number of telegrams and other written communications addressed to Office 870 may have ended up in the records of the Party Center Military Committee,²⁵¹ but no communications addressed directly to the committee have been discovered.
106. Some decisions which appear to have been within the mandate of the Party Center Military Committee were made at CPK Standing Committee meetings, suggesting that the Party Center Military Committee was a subcommittee of the Standing Committee. For example, during a meeting of the CPK Standing Committee on 9 October 1975, after designating the order of battle for military forces in the Northeast Zone, the Standing Committee noted that it would soon send a delegation into the field to examine the implementation of the orders: "In late October, [we] will go to inspect installations for about one week."²⁵² The close relationship between the Standing Committee, the Party Center Military Committee and the General Staff is further reflected in the decision of the Standing Committee not to establish its own private radio communications network, but instead to share the communications capabilities of the General Staff: "The Standing Committee and the General Staff must have one [radio system], but initially the Standing Committee won't yet use one, will share with the General Staff first. Anything related to the military, the Standing Committee will use the one at the General Staff."²⁵³
107. The Standing Committee established a nation-wide military radio communications network in October 1975. Communications bases were established along Cambodia's land and sea borders, with two stations in the Northeast, "one or two" in the East, one on the coast at Bokor, one in Koh Kong "reporting to the Zone," one in the Northwest, one in Siem Reap, and one in Preah Vihear. "In the North [Zone], there is no need." The Standing Committee emphasize that these arrangements "must be kept quiet."²⁵⁴ This shared network permitted the Standing Committee to maintain two-way communications with military units around the country, and provided a mechanism for Zone leadership to readily communicate with the Center.

GENERAL STAFF

108. The General Staff of the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea (RAK) under Son Sen alias Khieu alias Brother 89 performed the standard functions of a military command office, including planning, operations, intelligence, and logistical functions. The General Staff met regularly and held periodic study sessions. For example, the "First General Staff Study Session" of 20 October 1976 was attended by 311 individuals from various military units.²⁵⁵ The "Second General Staff Study Session," which occurred in November of 1976, was attended by 326 persons from 14 different units of organization.²⁵⁶ It is probable that there were more meetings of the General Staff than those documented.
109. Based on my reading of the documents pertaining to the organizational structure of DK military, I have drafted the following diagram that illustrates the command structure of the General Staff of the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea.

Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea General Staff

E3/494



110. The DK General Staff had broad responsibility for external military matters and for internal security. For example, General Staff Deputy Secretary Seat Chhae alias Tum was dispatched on 24 November 1975 to Muk Kampoul District of Sector 22 to supervise the suppression of an armed insurrection.²⁵⁷ For this task, Tum liaised with East Zone Party Committee cadre, Sector Secretaries, battalion cadres from the 450th Division and the 152nd Regiment, and District security cadre. The authority of the General Staff is illustrated by the fact that everyone agreed with Deputy Secretary Tum's advice and plans for resolving the problem.²⁵⁸
111. The General Staff had broad authority over personnel matters in the military. When the Organization decided to carry out a military reorganization, moving 600-700 persons from the 152nd Regiment to Division 164, the General Staff decided which personnel would be moved and who would command them.²⁵⁹ The General Staff also carried out political education for division and regimental echelon military cadre. For example, Son Sen sent Tum to convene a study session for Division 920 in Kratie in October 1975. In the course of this training, Tum "educates according to the program given him by Brother 89."²⁶⁰ Tum convened another study session for Division 290 at Neak Luong in November 1976.²⁶¹

COMMUNICATIONS

112. Communications patterns at the General Staff are reasonably well documented, partially as a result of the S-21 confessions of several high ranking military officials, especially Seat Chhae alias Tum and Chan Chakrei alias Nov Mean, two Vice Chairmen of the General Staff. For example, Chakrei notes that as a member of the General Staff he used "two-way radio and correspondence and face-to-face" meetings, and that he gave and received "direct and personal oral reports and then, secondarily, letters" that would be transmitted by couriers.²⁶² He used these to communicate with subordinate echelons, including Divisions as well as Zone and Sector forces.²⁶³ Another method for disseminating the Party line and specific military policies, as suggested by Tum's study sessions for Divisions 920 and 290, was to convene groups of military cadre and instruct them directly.²⁶⁴
113. The General Staff also communicated with Division-level cadre by means of "plenary" meetings between the senior cadre of the Divisions and the Chairman of the General

Staff. For example, Son Sen, Chairman of the General Staff, held a plenary meeting with the 920th Division on 7 September 1976.²⁶⁵ General Staff cadre were also occasionally dispatched into the field to deal with problems, as when Vice Chairman Tum went to Muk Kampoul District of Sector 22 on 24 November 1975 to put down a rebellion.²⁶⁶

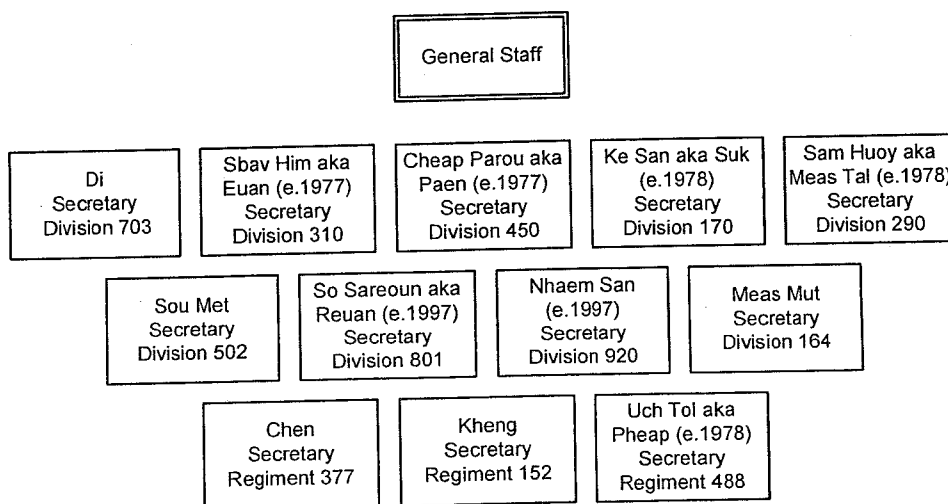
114. Face-to-face interaction was one method of communication with superior echelons, as when Son Sen asked **NUON Chea**'s advice on how to handle the arrest of Euan.²⁶⁷ Surviving documentation of General Staff meetings and study sessions also suggests that reports were provided to upper echelon by the General Staff.²⁶⁸

DIVISION MILITARY COMMANDERS AND COMMANDERS OF INDEPENDENT REGIMENTS

PERSONNEL AND ORGANIZATIONAL MATTERS

115. The Constitution of Democratic Kampuchea describes the Revolutionary Army as being divided into three echelons, "regular, regional and guerilla."²⁶⁹ The "regular" army consisted of divisions loyal to the center, as well as divisions whose primary loyalties were vested with "regional" or Zone leaders. The "guerilla" forces of the Revolutionary Army were primarily in the form of *chhlop* or local militia units attached to individual Commune secretaries. According to a report from the General Staff, in March of 1977 the Revolutionary Army had approximately 61,000 personnel.²⁷⁰ The personnel were divided amongst 9 divisions (Divisions 703, 310, 450, 170, 290, 502, 801, 920, and 164), 3 independent regiments (Regiments 152, 488, and 377) and several offices (S-21, M-63, and M-62).²⁷¹ The list does not appear to include numbers for local militia units.
116. Based on my reading of the documents pertaining to the organizational structure of DK military, I have drafted the following diagram that illustrates the Divisions and Independent Regiments of the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea as of early 1977.

RAK Divisions and Independent Regiments as of Early 1977



117. The Party leadership stressed that the "core and crucial duty of the Revolutionary Army is the defense of the country and of security domestically within the country,"²⁷² demonstrating that the military was responsible for external and internal security. For example, S-21, a body primarily concerned with enforcing internal security, was listed as

part of the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea.²⁷³ The CPK leadership further noted that "only the Party leads the army; no other organ or individual leads it."²⁷⁴ At every level of the DK military forces, from the *chhlop* to the Center Divisions, those forces were under the command of senior CPK cadres.

118. Division commanders met regularly with Son Sen. Records of 13 meetings of the secretaries of the divisions and independent regiments exist, and many more may have taken place.²⁷⁵ For example, there are records of meetings on 2 August 1976, 12 August 1976, 18 August 1976, and 30 August 1976. These records suggest that joint meetings of all the division and independent regiment commanders may have occurred as often as once per week. In addition, there appear to have been a number of smaller meetings between Son Sen alias Khieu alias Brother 89 and individual division commanders,²⁷⁶ which occurred in conjunction with the meetings of all division commanders and independent regiment commanders.²⁷⁷ This suggests that Son Sen may have met with division commanders on an individual basis as part of the regular meetings of all the division commanders.
119. Son Sen alias Khieu alias Brother 89 led meetings of all division and independent regiment commanders. Usually, the meetings began with the commanders describing the situation in their units, emphasizing any activities by or actions taken against "enemies."²⁷⁸ Son Sen would then sometimes summarize the situation in the whole country for the commanders.²⁷⁹ The meetings usually ended with Son Sen issuing orders to the commanders.
120. In the minutes of a meeting of Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Divisions and Independent Regiments dated 9 October 1976, Comrade Tal notes that "[c]ompany cadre manifested opposition activities by not disseminating the Party line within the unit of organization or not distributing the Banners magazine to the unit or organization."²⁸⁰ Propagating Party policies units by distributing the Party's magazine, *Revolutionary Flag*, was a duty, and failure to do so was considered treasonous. This illustrates the depth of control that the organs of the Party Center exercised. In this same document, Son Sen alias Khieu alias 89 is recorded as disseminating the Party line to the Division and Regiment Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries.²⁸¹

SECURITY

121. As previously noted, Division Commanders were responsible for both internal and external security. For example, on 2 August 1976, Son Sen warned his commanders to "think in terms of fending off enemies both external and internal," and ordered them to "pay attention to purging no-good elements completely from the Party, the Core Organizations, and our male and female combatants within the Revolutionary Army."²⁸² Other existing documents also contain examples of Son Sen giving orders to the division and independent regiment commanders; in particular he often instructed the divisions to purge "no-good elements."²⁸³ These documents demonstrate that the CPK, through Son Sen in his role as a member of the Military Committee of the Central Committee, had the authority to control virtually every aspect of the operations of the Divisions, from the orders to grow rice and conduct constant purges to the arrest and interrogation of individuals.
122. Additionally, at a meeting of division commanders on 1 March 1977, Division 502 Commander Sous Met declared that it was now "obvious that number of elements" from Division 502 whom had been "previously arrested really are enemy elements," and revealed that "more than 50 no-goods" from the unit had "been sent to S-21."²⁸⁴ Met also

reported three recent enemy situations involving the Division: one "enemy situation at the guard post in the vicinity of the Monks' Hospital" in Phnom Penh during which "somebody was able to grab a pass from a guard;" one in which "a woman farmer was detained walking near the enemy's Advanced Military Academy" in the capital; and one in which a grenade was rigged in an attempt to "kill a comrade." Met declared that Division 502 could only achieve political "reliability if five more platoon secretaries are removed."

123. Division Secretary Sous Met remained vigilant in the search for internal enemies within the units of organization that he commanded, continuing to arrest and transfer to S-21 cadre and combatants who deserted, engaged in "liberal activities," did not respect "organizational discipline" or were implicated as "traitors" in the "confessions" of prisoners. Notes addressed by Met to **DUCH** on 1 and 2 June 1977 gave such reasons in explaining why persons from Division 502 were being sent to the S-21 Chairman.²⁸⁵ A similar note to **DUCH** on 4 October 1977 accompanied two more prisoners.²⁸⁶ Thus division secretaries had the authority to not only arrest, interrogate and execute individuals, but also to send them to S-21.

ECONOMICS

124. Division commanders had broad responsibility for local economic affairs, flowing from the Party's requirement that all units of organization be self-sustaining. This directive is illustrated in the minutes of a meeting of all Division Committees on 1 June 1976, during which Son Sen ("Brother 89") emphasized that the "Divisions surrounding Phnom Penh [920, 703 and 310] must be 100 percent self-supporting, and must support Angkar from 30 to 100 percent."²⁸⁷ In this same meeting, Son Sen further described precisely how the commanders should carry out this duty; he directed what types of rice seed should be planted, as well when and where it should be planted. Two months later, in a meeting with Division Commanders on 2 August 1976, Son Sen continued on the same theme, instructing the commanders in "the duty of conducting storming attacks of light paddy to be absolutely sure to sort out food supplies."²⁸⁸ A little more than one month later, Son Sen lectured the commanders of Division 920 on this topic and revealed how the goal of "three tons per hectare" fit into the overall strategy of the Party. After claiming that Cambodian influence with the Non-Aligned Movement was greater than that of either Vietnam or the Soviet Union, Son Sen asserted that "This year if we achieve three tons as well, our influence will really be even higher."²⁸⁹
125. In the minutes of a meeting of Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Divisions and Independent Regiments dated 12 August 1976, one participant complains that "the Party has still not yet fully absorbed its duties with regard to getting three tonnes per hectare on heavy paddy fields in order to support ourselves 100 percent and to support the Party with from 30 to 50 percent."²⁹⁰ This document emphasizes the need for the divisions to grow their own rice to be self-sufficient and instructs division commanders to: 1) educate the cadre, combatants and Youth League members about the importance of growing rice; 2) "storm forward to apply fertilizer to the paddy that we have already planted"; and 3) improve the transportation and transplanting of seedlings. Individual military units were expected to be economically self-sufficient in regards to food, take measures to ensure self-sufficiency, and contribute between 30 and 50 percent of their harvest to the upper echelons of the organization.
126. Divisions were also responsible for self-sufficiency regarding water management. A communiqué dated 4 November 1977 from the Division 310 Committee reported that work on a dam was interrupted by the need to plant a rice crop, but with the planting now

complete, the Committee intended to "gather a force of 250 to finish it within five days." The report went on to request "a force of 300" "to build a dam at Boeng Pong Peay in order to be self-reliant next year."²⁹¹

E3/494

COMMUNICATIONS

127. Communications between the General Staff and the Divisions and Independent Regiments were analogous to communications between the Standing Committee and the Zones. Division commanders communicated with Son Sen, the Chairman of the General Staff,²⁹² who in turn issued orders to other Division Commanders.²⁹³ Son Sen also served as the link between the General Staff and the Party Center Military Committee.²⁹⁴ Division commanders appear to have met at General Staff headquarters for regular reporting, perhaps weekly,²⁹⁵ and on a less frequent basis for study sessions.²⁹⁶ Division Commanders collected information from subordinate units and reported to the upper echelon on a variety of matters beyond external military issues, including organizational matters, internal security problems, and economic issues.²⁹⁷ Division Commanders also transmitted orders from the upper echelon to their subordinate units and supervised the implementation of those orders on the full range of subject matter.²⁹⁸
128. The reporting chain for military units was tightly integrated. This is suggested by a 24 September 1976 telegram from Comrade Dim to Division 152 commander Meas Mut, reporting on routine security and economic events at the sub-district level in and around Riem.²⁹⁹ This telegram was copied to "Brother Nuon, Brother Khieu, Brother Mut, Office and Documentation." Thus it appears that although internal military communication followed the chain of command, lower echelon officers may have kept several echelons simultaneously informed, in this instance including the Division Commander (Mut), the Chief of the General Staff (Son Sen), and the Deputy Chairman of the Party Center Military Committee (NUON Chea).

MINISTRIES

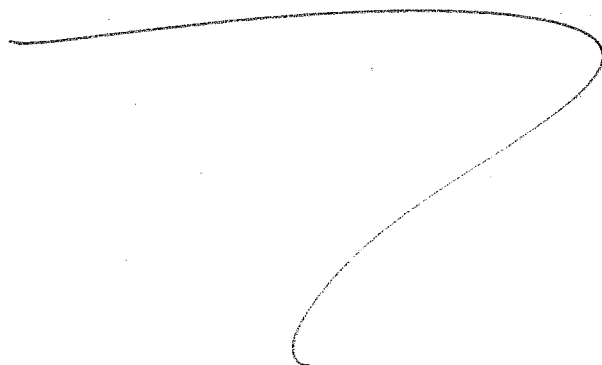
129. According to the DK Constitution, the People's Representative Assembly was responsible for electing "The Executive Body," also known as the "administration."³⁰⁰ The Executive Body presumably was to be the government, although the Constitution does not make this clear. However, a 9 October 1975 SC meeting appointed cadre to a number of important posts, which were similar to their eventual ministerial assignments:

1. Comrade Secretary: General responsibility over the military and the economy
2. Comrade Deputy Secretary: Party Affairs, Social Action, Culture, Propaganda and Education
3. Comrade Van: Foreign Affairs work, both Party and State
4. Comrade Hêm: Responsible for the Front and the Royal Government, and Commerce for accounting and pricing
5. Comrade Thuch: Domestic and International Commerce
6. Comrade Khieu: Responsible for General Staff and Security
7. Comrade Vorn: Industry, Railroads, and Fisheries
8. Comrade Doeun: Chairman, Political Office of 870
9. Comrade Phea: Responsible for Culture - Social Action and Foreign Affairs
10. Comrade At: Propaganda and Reeducation, both internal and external
11. Comrade Chey: Agriculture
12. Comrade Yêm: Bureau 870

13. Comrade Pâng: Government Office³⁰¹

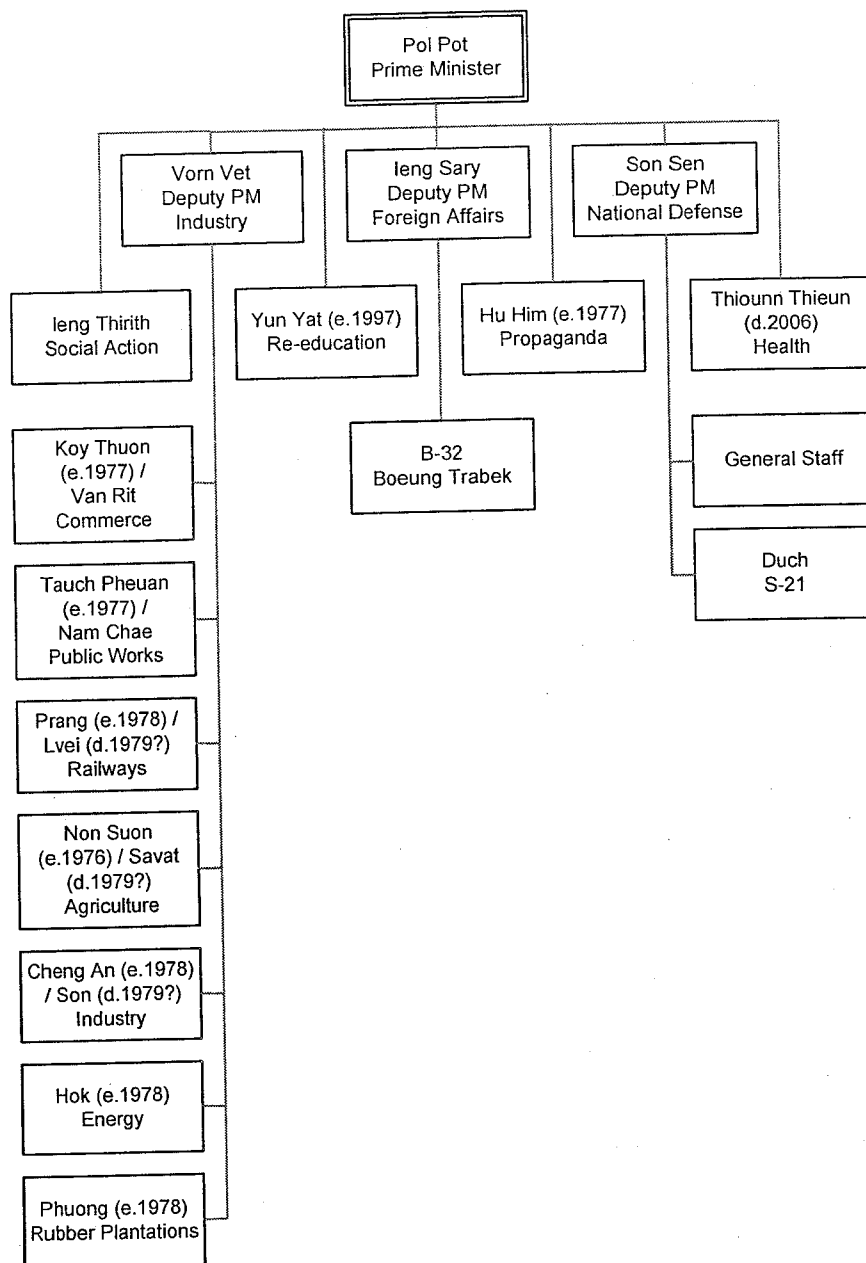
E3/494

130. Immediately after this list in the minutes of the meeting, the SC reaffirmed its authority over all operations of the various "sections" of the government by noting that "In bringing up projects, we must ask the Standing Committee's opinion so it may decide and approve."
131. A 30 March 1976 document issued in the name of the CPK Central Committee specified that "the Government: Must be totally an organization of the Party..."³⁰² This document announced the appointment of the most senior leaders of the government, with Pol Pot as "First Minister," **IENG Sary** alias Van as "Deputy Prime Minister for Foreign Affairs," Vorn Vet alias Von as "Deputy Prime Minister for Economics and Finance," and Son Sen alias Khieu as "Deputy Prime Minister for National Defense." After these initial appointments, the structure and staffing of the governmental apparatus was established by decisions of the CPK SC, with lower-level leadership often being appointed by the three deputy prime ministers. On 7 May 1976, for example, the SC appointed Comrade Chey to control the Commerce Committee and assigned five cadres to the Ports Committee, including Comrade Krin as Secretary.³⁰³ The government was organized at the top level into three super-ministries, under Van (Foreign Affairs), Von (Industry and Commerce) and Khieu (Defense), each of which oversaw a number of smaller units or ministries, also variously described as committees, sections or sectors.
132. Within each ministry, Party committees "have a duty to direct the works. So, the regimen of living, dressing eating of the committee is the same the whole unit's."³⁰⁴ The "roles" of each committee include: "1) To govern political, consciousness and assignments; 2) Direct labor force based on collectivism. For example, which section is assigned to grow garlic, onion, or which section is assigned to raise animals, etc.; 3) Maintaining warehouses, properties, eating with accumulation of rice based on the Angkar limited ration, and on the agreement of the collectives . . . ; 4) Guard and defend the Unit with autonomy;" and 5) institute a weekly or monthly reporting regimen."³⁰⁵ The "duties" of each committee include: "1) the core duty - which differs according to the purpose of each unit; 2) the duty to defend the country, the state power, the army and the Party; 3) the duty to continue socialist revolution; 4) the duty to build up socialism; and 5) the duty to strengthen the Party, the Youth League and the Backbone Organization."³⁰⁶
133. Based on my reading of the documents I have drafted the following diagram that illustrates the command structure of the DK government ministries.



Democratic Kampuchea Government Ministries

E3/494



134. Pol Pot, using the title "Comrade Secretary," chaired and summarized a meeting of the Council of Ministers on 31 May 1976.³⁰⁷ The minutes from the 31 May 1976 meeting illustrate how the government functioned as an extension of the CPK,³⁰⁸ in accordance with the previous decision of 30 March 1976 specifying that "the Government: Must be totally an organization of the Party..."³⁰⁹ The meeting begins with a presentation by Comrade Secretary (Pol Pot), who informs those attending that henceforth there will be monthly meetings of the Council of Ministers. He then describes "the global situation," reviewing developments with the superpowers and the non-aligned states, and then turns to the "situation of our revolution." After a brief review of "national defense" issues, Comrade Secretary discusses "national construction."
135. In this section, Pol Pot discusses progress towards key goals (primarily, building dikes and canals, and growing rice), comments on the "weaknesses" of each ministry in

achieving these goals and reiterates the Party's insistence on achieving 3 tons per hectare of rice production. He then proceeds to discuss how the activities of each ministry impact on that overall goal, advising a "storm attack" to resolve any problem. Finally, in what appears to be the central section of Pol Pot's address to the meeting, he describes "Duties of Ministries" and the shortcomings that he sees in the work of each ministry. He criticizes the "industrial sector," the "social and health sector," the "commerce and transportation sector," the "railways sector," the "propaganda and education sector," the "clothing sector," the "dock sector," the "public works" sector, and the "Foreign Affairs sector." Pol Pot's remarks exemplify the scope of the control exercised over all governmental activities by the senior leaders of the CPK.

136. The meeting continues with "Opinions at the Meeting," in which representatives of several ministries respond to the Secretary's comments and report on their progress and challenges. Each of the ministry representatives begins his or her remarks by noting, as did Comrade Phea (aka **IENG Thirith**) that, "[We are in] total agreement with Angkar's comments."³¹⁰ This demonstrates three important points; 1) "Angkar" can be an alias for Pol Pot; 2) the Standing Committee set policy goals; and 3) individual ministers had relatively little decision-making authority; instead, they were responsible for implementing the policies established by the SC.
137. The general format of the ministry presentations at this meeting was to describe problems being encountered, to explain why objectives were not being met, and to express confidence that any existing problems will only be temporary because "the Party guidelines are vivid."³¹¹ After comments by six ministry representatives, Pol Pot concluded the meeting by directing that "we will [carry out] storm attacks in each ministry to the maximum extent," and that this will enable the revolution to achieve "self-mastery" in all areas "no later than in the next five years."
138. A 10 June 1976 meeting chaired by Comrade Secretary and Comrade Deputy Secretary on health and social affairs demonstrates that the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health was established and led by Comrade Phea (also known as **IENG Thirith**).³¹² **IENG Thirith** reported that the "Ministry had been sectioned since October 1975" into groups dealing with different health-related issues, such as medicine production, malaria protection, and supply distribution. Phea reported on the problems at the Ministry, such as the fact that four pharmaceutical factories operated by the Ministry were having serious production problems. "The machines were also old and our techniques were still low." "The children fighters that were provided by Angkar" to staff the factories "were too small" to operate the machinery. There were also shortages of "chemical substances" needed for production and "a shortfall of bottles" for use as packaging for liquid medicines. "The medicine [that we] produced had low quality because of lack of raw materials." As a result, the Ministry was turning to the production of traditional medicines for diseases such as typhoid fever. Comrade Thuk, a member of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, reported about how the ministry "tested" each kind of tree in Kampuchea "to find out which one was most useful for producing medicine." Another cadre also noted "much difficulty particularly in the area of hygiene" in hospitals. Angkar responded by describing the "Ministry's Duty" in terms of the goal to "get 3 tons [of rice] per hectare for this year," connecting the health status of the population to their ability to achieve food production goals. Angkar also endorsed the process of "testing" traditional medicines, without detailing the testing process. Meanwhile, increasing numbers of personnel from this ministry were being sent to S-21.³¹³
139. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, led by **IENG Sary** alias Van, had similar issues. One observer characterized **IENG Sary's** ministry as "extremely secretive," a place "which

E3/494

nobody could exit or enter.”³¹⁴ Some Foreign Ministry cadre reportedly “felt trapped in a Ministry where no normal systems, planning, staffing or tasking was apparent, where instead a discipline resembling that of an army barracks was imposed, where the food was terrible, [and] where intellectuals were subjected to constant irrational criticisms and ostracized...”³¹⁵ In December 1976, two senior Foreign Ministry cadre (Sien An and Hak Seang Lay Ni alias Lan) were purged, and this caused the atmosphere of fear inside the ministry to intensify.³¹⁶ The atmosphere of fear would continue to intensify as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs eventually consigned at least 115 of its own cadre to S-21.³¹⁷ The atmosphere of terror was so great that IENG Sary later reportedly claimed that he himself feared he might be sent to S-21.³¹⁸ Although he was not sent to S-21, IENG Sary admitted he knew S-21 was place that when you were sent there, you never came back.³¹⁹

140. As with all other organizational units, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs also maintained work camps for “tempering,” or “re-education” by hard labor. A facility known as “Camp B-32,” situated at Boeung Trabek high school on Monivong Boulevard in Phnom Penh, was used for tempering diplomats and other intellectuals who had been recalled to Cambodia from abroad.³²⁰ Some individuals held at B-32 were eventually considered adequately reformed and were assigned to work at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, some succumbed to the difficult work regimen at B-32, others were deemed enemies and sent to be “crushed” at S-21, while some survived.³²¹
141. The Ministry of Industry led Vorn Vet, controlled several Phnom Penh ministry workforces in industry, agriculture, electricity, public works and railways.³²² Vorn Vet had the authority to appoint and remove the leaders of major units under his control. Immediately after 17 April 1975, when Vorn Vet was establishing the Ministry of Industry, he appointed Prang as Minister of Railways.³²³ Around the beginning of the 4th quarter of 1975, Vorn Vet announced the appointment of Phin as Chairman and Chon Vice Chairman of the Public Works Ministry, and removed Sók, Mön and Saeng, transferring them to the General Staff.³²⁴ Vorn Vet also controlled lower echelon leadership in sub-units of ministries under his leadership. He appointed a new chairman of the Steung Chral Electricity Plant, part of the Ministry of Electricity, after a previous chairman had been arrested by the Organization.³²⁵
142. Ministers also had the ability to sometimes protect, at least for a time, subordinates who had been compromised by the confessions of previously arrested persons. In his S-21 confession, Vorn Vet described doing this for a number of subordinates: “They were not immediately sent to the security police, in order to prevent too quick a chain of exposures. ... I therefore strove to make sure that the cores in a number of ministries were protected.”³²⁶
143. The Ministry of Public Works employed at least 3,000 workers at the beginning of the regime.³²⁷ However, this number decreased as the result of an extensive purge process that saw many qualified workers and cadre sent to re-education camps and S-21.³²⁸ The equipment needed to build, maintain and repair infrastructure, such as power stations and the power grid, did not exist within the DK and was not being ordered from abroad, so it was impossible to carry out many projects. As a result, the electrical system deteriorated, leading to accusations of “wrecking” from upper echelons, followed by intensified purges, which in turn resulted in the deteriorating performance of the remaining workers and the technical systems. In addition, as Minister of Public Works Tauch Pheuan alias Phin said in his S-21 confession, “work of the Ministry was becoming more and more complicated because of the lack of technical assistants and the Organization’s refusal to make allowances.”³²⁹ The “Party’s line of sweeping aside all the old society technicians

was wrong" because the workers considered ideologically pure did not have the necessary technical knowledge.³³⁰

E3/494

144. The authority of ministers to appoint senior leadership to units under their control was further illustrated when Deuan, who had replaced Koy Thuon as Minister of Commerce, appointed a new Chairman of land transport.³³¹ However, the Organization also had the authority to intervene in such matters, as it had previously appointed the Member of Land Transport.³³²
145. The ministries controlled their own re-education camps in order to carry out their responsibilities to seek out enemies, refashion cadre, and smash those who were considered enemies. For example, the last Minister of Public Works, Nam Chae, describes the quarry at Trapeang Kraloeng as one such re-education camp operated by his ministry. "I was in charge of workers at Trapeang Kraloeng, which was a tempering place for veteran workers," he said, further asserting "Not many died there. Many veteran workers survived because we took good care of them, according to Tauch Pheuan's line of refashioning them and putting them back to work."³³³


COMMUNICATIONS

146. Communications patterns surrounding the DK ministries appear to have been less structured than communications involving the political-administrative, internal security and military hierarchies. The upper echelons (especially the Standing Committee and Office 870), the ministries, and the lower echelons had multiple channels to communicate with one another. All of these channels seem to have been in parallel use. For example, individual ministries reported to, and received instructions from, the Center through a variety of mechanisms, including Standing Committee Meetings,³³⁴ monthly Council of Ministers meetings,³³⁵ ad hoc one-on-one or small group sessions with senior leaders such as Pol Pot or **NUON Chea**,³³⁶ large-scale training meetings,³³⁷ and visits to individual units of organization by delegations of senior leaders.³³⁸ These personal interactions were supplemented by written exchanges between the upper echelons and ministries, in the form of letters, telegrams, memoranda and reports (weekly or monthly³³⁹), as well as policy directives and Party propaganda such as the periodical, *Revolutionary Flag*.³⁴⁰ For example, reports addressed to **KHIEU Samphan** flooded Office 870. These reports discussed topics ranging from daily statistics on rice production, weekly and monthly reports on product shipments from the Zones to the Center, imports and exports flowing through the Kampong Som port, and meetings at the Commerce Ministry, the Foreign Ministry and foreign embassies.³⁴¹
147. Despite all of these methods of communication and the broad range of information exchange, many problems could not be resolved. This is illustrated in a complaint from **IENG Thirith** of the Ministry of Social Action to Pol Pot that the workers Angkar had supplied were "too small" to operate the machinery.³⁴² Similarly, Minister of Public Works Tauch Pheun complained about the lack of spare parts necessary to maintain the electrical system, but the necessary components did not arrive from abroad.³⁴³
148. Within the ministries, internal communication took a broad set of forms, including one-on-one, small and large group meetings, as well as letters, memoranda and reports.³⁴⁴ However, as one senior Foreign Ministry cadre put it, "no normal systems, planning, staffing or tasking" was apparent.³⁴⁵ The inefficiency associated with the lack of bureaucratic procedures was exacerbated by the appointment of inexperienced and untrained cadre to positions of technical responsibility. Minister of Public Works Tauch Pheun lamented in his S-21 confession that the Party preferred ideological purity to

professional competence.³⁴⁶ The rapid turnover in leadership positions due to constant purging of the ministry staffs made the situation worse. As Deputy Prime Minister for Economics Vorn Vet confessed at S-21, it was difficult for him to protect his key subordinates from the depredations of the "Special Branch,"³⁴⁷ as S-21 was sometimes called.

PEOPLE'S REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY

149. Article 5 of the DK Constitution provides that "Legislative power is invested in the representative assembly of the people, workers, peasants, and all other Kampuchean laborers."³⁴⁸ The "Kampuchean People's Representative Assembly" (PRA) was to be composed of 250 members, who would be directly elected every five years by secret ballot.³⁴⁹ The PRA "is responsible for legislation and for defining the various domestic and foreign policies of Democratic Kampuchea."³⁵⁰ In theory, the PRA was the highest policymaking body of DK. However, the SC set all the policies of DK, and the PRA never established any laws or any judicial institutions to enforce or adjudicate the laws.³⁵¹ Moreover, refugees from Democratic Kampuchea complained that they were never offered the opportunity to vote for members of the PRA.³⁵²
150. The PRA was in theory responsible for choosing and appointing "a State Presidium," which was to be selected every five years.³⁵³ The Presidium was composed of a president, a vice-president and a second vice-president. However, the CPK SC selected and appointed the Presidium, naming Comrade Hem (KHIEU Samphan) as Chairman, Pen Nouth as First Deputy Chairman, and Comrade Nheum as Second Deputy Chairman.³⁵⁴ The CPK SC also appointed NUON Chea as Chairman of the PRA Standing Committee, with So Phim as First Deputy and Ta Mok as Second Deputy. This set of CPK SC decisions also declared that "other elements of the [People's Representative Assembly] Standing Committee will be kept for later for the Standing Committee to set up later on." These decisions by the CPK SC show that the PRA was conceived and operated as nothing more than a propaganda façade.
151. The CPK Standing Committee did not regard the People's Representative Assembly as a source of genuine authority, or as a seat of autonomous state power, as specified in the DK Constitution. At a CPK SC meeting devoted in part to preparing for the election of the PRA, the SC stressed that "If anyone asks ... do not speak playfully about the Assembly in front of the people to let them see that we are deceptive, and our Assembly is worthless."³⁵⁵


Craig C. Etcheson

18/07/07

ANNEX A:

REFERENCES CONTAINED IN THE MAIN TEXT

E3/494

- ¹ CPK Legal Document entitled *Communist Party of Kampuchea Statute* dated January 1976, DCCN D00674, ERN 00053007-00053080.
- ² CPK Legal Document entitled *Communist Party of Kampuchea Statute* dated January 1976 article 23, DCCN D00674, ERN 00053007-00053080.
- ³ CPK Central Committee Directive entitled *Decision of the Central Committee Regarding a Number of Matters* dated 30 March 1976, DCCN D00693, ERN 0003136-0003142.
- ⁴ CPK Legal Document entitled *Communist Party of Kampuchea Statute* dated January 1976 article 7 paragraph 2, DCCN D00674, ERN 00053007-00053080.
- ⁵ CPK Legal Document entitled *Communist Party of Kampuchea Statute* dated January 1976 article 18, DCCN D00674, ERN 00053007-00053080.
- ⁶ Map of Democratic Kampuchea by Ministry of Education of Democratic Kampuchea dated 1976 (ENG/KHM).
- ⁷ Map of Democratic Kampuchea by Ministry of Education of Democratic Kampuchea dated 1976 (ENG/KHM).
- ⁸ CPK Legal Document entitled *Communist Party of Kampuchea Statute* dated January 1976 article 7 paragraph 3, DCCN D00674, ERN 00053007-00053080.
- ⁹ CPK Legal Document entitled *Communist Party of Kampuchea Statute* dated January 1976 article 15, DCCN D00674, ERN 00053007-00053080.
- ¹⁰ CPK Legal Document entitled *Communist Party of Kampuchea Statute* dated January 1976 article 7 paragraph 4, DCCN D00674, ERN 00053007-00053080.
- ¹¹ CPK Legal Document entitled *Communist Party of Kampuchea Statute* dated January 1976 article 12, DCCN D00674, ERN 00053007-00053080.
- ¹² Book by MENG-TRY Ea entitled *The Chain of Terror* dated 2005 (ENG).
- ¹³ CPK Magazine entitled *Revolutionary Flag Special Issue* dated October to November 1977, ERN 00000267-00000277.
- ¹⁴ CPK Legal Document entitled *Communist Party of Kampuchea Statute* dated January 1976 articles 9-11, DCCN D00674, ERN 00053007-00053080.
- ¹⁵ CPK Legal Document entitled *Communist Party of Kampuchea Statute* dated January 1976 article 9, DCCN D00674, ERN 00053007-00053080.
- ¹⁶ CPK Suspect Statement of NUON Chea entitled *Statement of the Communist Party of Kampuchea to the Communist Workers' Party of Denmark, July 1978* dated 30 July 1978, DCCN D13311, ERN 00016991-00017008; NUON Chea confirmed the existence of the Central Committee in a speech to a fraternal communist party.
- ¹⁷ CPK Legal Document entitled *Communist Party of Kampuchea Statute* dated January 1976 article 23, DCCN D00674, ERN 00053007-00053080.
- ¹⁸ CPK Legal Document entitled *Communist Party of Kampuchea Statute* dated January 1976 article 1, DCCN D00674, ERN 00053007-00053080; the "Centre" or "Party Centre" was synonymous with the Standing Committee of the Central Committee.
- ¹⁹ CPK Legal Document entitled *Communist Party of Kampuchea Statute* dated January 1976 article 27, DCCN D00674, ERN 00053007-00053080; the three categories of the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea are discussed below under the heading of the Party Center Military Committee.
- ²⁰ CPK Legal Document entitled *Communist Party of Kampuchea Statute* dated January 1976 article 1, DCCN D00674, ERN 00053007-00053080.
- ²¹ CPK Magazine entitled *Revolutionary Flag* dated July 1976 page 60, ERN 00062905-00062945; This issue of *Revolutionary Flag* (also sometimes translated as *Banners of Revolution*) emphasized the crucial importance of the CPK Statutes to the Party, instructing cadre that by "starting to study and understanding the Statutes right from the word go, we will be more powerfully imbued with the Party line and enjoy stronger internal Party unity."
- ²² CPK Central Committee Directive entitled *Decision of the Central Committee Regarding a Number of Matters* dated 30 March 1976, DCCN D00693, ERN 0003136-0003142.
- ²³ DK Government Report entitled *Name List of People of K-1 and K-3* undated, TSA 4748, DCCN D13627, ERN 00021153-00021161; This roster of S-71 personnel was created by S-21 in the course of an investigation.
- ²⁴ SOAS/HRW Suspect Statement of KHIEU Samphan alias Haem dated 17 August 2005, ERN 00078213-00078214; Samphan describes the relationships among Office 870, K1 and K3.
- ²⁵ SOAS/HRW Interview of PEAN Khean dated 25 July 2005.

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- ²⁶ **CPK Standing Committee Meeting Minutes** entitled *Summary of the Decisions of the Standing Committee in the Meeting of 19-20-21 April 1976* dated 19 April 1976 to 21 April 1976 (KHM), DCCN D00694, ERN 00019142-00019148.
- ²⁷ **CPK Legal Document** entitled *Communist Party of Kampuchea Statute* dated January 1976 articles 11 (Branches), 12 (Districts) & 15 (Sectors), DCCN D00674, ERN 00053007-00053080.
- ²⁸ **Biography of KE Pauk** entitled *Ke Pauk Had Defended Himself Before He Died* dated March 2002, DCCN Issue 27 March 2006, ERN 00089708-00089716.
- ²⁹ **CPK Standing Committee Meeting Minutes** dated 9 October 1975 (KHM), DCCN D00677, ERN 00019108-00019126.
- ³⁰ **CPK Central Committee Directive** entitled *Decision of the Central Committee Regarding a Number of Matters* dated 30 March 1976, DCCN D00693, ERN 0003136-0003142.
- ³¹ **CPK Legal Document** entitled *Communist Party of Kampuchea Statute* dated January 1976 article 19 paragraph 4, DCCN D00674, ERN 00053007-00053080.
- ³² **DK Military Telegram by Nhim** entitled *Telegram ?, To Angkar 870* dated 11 May 1978 DCCN D02129, ERN 00021043-00021045.
- ³³ **CPK Report** entitled *To Respected Angkar 870* dated 17 May 1978, DCCN D02131, ERN 00021046-00021048.
- ³⁴ **DK Military Telegram** entitled *To respected, beloved and missed Angkar* dated 16 July 1978, DCCN D02162.
- ³⁵ **DK Military Telegram** entitled *To respected, beloved and missed Angkar* dated 23 July 1978, DCCN D2164.
- ³⁶ **DK Military Telegram** entitled *To respected, beloved and missed Angkar* dated 4 August 1978, DCCN D02165.
- ³⁷ **S-21 Confession of CHEA Non alias Suong** dated 20 February 1977 page 6, DCCN C155, ERN 00012692-00012957; **S-21 Confession of CHHEUM Sam-aok alias Pang** dated 28 May 1978 page 19, TSA C175, ERN 00013353-00013532.
- ³⁸ **S-21 Confession of CHEA Non alias Suong** dated 20 February 1977 page 10, TSA C155, ERN 00012692-00012957.
- ³⁹ **S-21 Confession of CHO Chhan alias Sreng** entitled *Post-17 April 1975 Activities* dated 23 February 1977 at beginning and 24 February 1977 at end, page 14 (Heder summary translation SRENG.001); **S-21 Confession of CHO Chhan alias Sreng** entitled *I Would Like to Report on the Liaison Between Myself and Comrade Deuan in Connection with Party-Betraying Activities* dated 14 March 1977, page 15 (Heder summary translation SRENG.005).
- ⁴⁰ **CPK Standing Committee Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of the Standing Committee* dated 22 February 1976 and 8 March 1976, DCCN D00684, ERN 00000723-00000734.
- ⁴¹ **Statement of MEN Chhân** dated 6 August 1990; This interview was taped by Steve Heder and those tapes are in the possession of the ECCC/OCIJ.
- ⁴² **S-21 Confession of CHHEUM Sam-aok alias Pang** dated 28 May 1978, TSA C175, pages 76-78, ERN 00013353-00013532.
- ⁴³ **CPK Magazine by the Communist Party of Kampuchea** entitled *Revolutionary Flag Special Issue* dated October to November 1977, pages 1-41, ERN 00000267-00000277.
- ⁴⁴ **CPK Central Committee Report** entitled *Report of Activities of the Party Centre According to the General Political Tasks of 1976* dated 20 December 1976 in **Book by David CHANDLER, Ben KIERNAN and Chanthou BOUA** entitled *Pol Pot Plans the Future: Confidential Documents from Democratic Kampuchea* dated 1988 page 210 (New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asia Council Monograph No. 33).
- ⁴⁵ **DK Government Telegram by Office 870** entitled *Advice from 870* dated 3 January 1979, DCCN D01993, ERN 00002978-00002981.
- ⁴⁶ **CPK Suspect Statement of NUON Chea** entitled *Statement of the Communist Party of Kampuchea to the Communist Workers' Party of Denmark, July 1978* dated 30 July 1978, DCCN D13311, ERN 00016991-00017008.
- ⁴⁷ **CPK Central Committee Directive** entitled *Decision of the Central Committee Regarding a Number of Matters* dated 30 March 1976, DCCN D00693, ERN 0003136-0003142.
- ⁴⁸ **CPK Telegram 15 from Chhon** dated 30 November 1975, DCCN L0001045, ERN 00008494-00008495.
- ⁴⁹ **CPK Magazine** entitled *Revolutionary Flag Special Issue* dated October to November 1977, pages 1-41, ERN 00000267-00000277.
- ⁵⁰ **CPK Magazine** entitled *Revolutionary Flag Special Issue* dated December 1977 – January 1978 pages 1-63, ERN 00064512-00064550.
- ⁵¹ **CPK Central Committee Report** entitled *Report of Activities of the Party Centre According to the General Political Tasks of 1976* dated 20 December 1976 in **Book by David CHANDLER, Ben KIERNAN and Chanthou BOUA** entitled *Pol Pot Plans the Future: Confidential Documents from Democratic Kampuchea* dated 1988 pages 186-189 (New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asia Council Monograph No. 33).

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⁷⁴ **CPK Standing Committee Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of the Standing Committee* dated 22 February 1976, DCCN D00681.

⁷⁵ **CPK Standing Committee Meeting Minutes** entitled *Summary of the Decisions of the Standing Committee in the Meeting of 19-20-21 April 1976* dated 19 April 1976 to 21 April 1976 (KHM), DCCN D00694, ERN 00019142-00019148.

⁷⁶ **CPK Standing Committee Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Standing Committee Meeting* dated 17 May 1976, DCCN D00702, ERN 00000829-00000836.

⁷⁷ **DK Military Telegram** entitled *Dear Beloved Office 870* dated 11 May 1977, DCCN L0001410; This message included a complaint about incursions by workers from Sector 21 into the territory of Sector 505, along with a request that 870 get Sector 21 to inform 505 of anyone coming to "cut leaves and trees" in areas along the border of 505.

⁷⁸ **S-21 Confession of KUNG Kien alias EUNG Vet** dated 26 May 1977, DCCN J300, ERN 00001268-00001275; On the coversheet, there are handwritten comments in four different scripts, relating to **DUCH**, **NUON Chea**, **TA Mok** and **MEAS Mut**.

⁷⁹ **Book by Henry KAMM** entitled *Cambodia, Report from a Stricken Land* dated 1998 pages 140-141; Indicated pages quote interview with **IENG Sary**.

⁸⁰ **CPK Standing Committee Minutes** entitled *Minutes of Meeting of the Standing Committee* dated 15 May 1976, DCCN D00701, ERN 00000770-00000771; This meeting was attended by only six leaders, including **KHIEU Samphan**, which contradicts his assertion that he attended only expanded meetings of the SC; **CPK Standing Committee Meeting Minutes** dated 9 October 1975 page 5, DCCN D00677, ERN 00019108-00019126; The minutes state that "When the Standing Committee meets, each person reports."

⁸¹ **CPK Standing Committee Minutes** entitled *Record of Meeting of the Standing Committee* dated 11 March 1976, DCCN D00687, ERN 00000736-00000743; The Standing Committee was expanded to include members of the General Staff of the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea.

⁸² **DK Military Report** entitled *Confidential Phone Conversation Respected and Beloved Grand Uncle* dated 15 April 1978, DCCN D02113, ERN 00021004-00021004.

⁸³ **DK Military Report by MEAS Mut** entitled *From Division 164, Political Section* dated 1 April 1978, DCCN D02094, ERN 00001096-00001096; **DK Military Telegram** dated 13 July 1977, DCCN D01696; **DK Military Telegram** dated 4 April 1978, DCCN D02096; **DK Military Telegram** dated 20 March 1978, DCCN D02095; and **DK Military Telegram** dated 12 August 1977, DCCN D01966; These are examples of radio communications from lower echelons to the Party Center, all noted as having been transmitted by "secret two-way radio."

⁸⁴ **DC-Cam Statement of YIN Eng alias Sanh** dated 24 October 2003, DCCN KCI0442/I03078, ERN 00019592-00019614; This documents an instance of **NUON Chea** participating in a CPK training session.

⁸⁵ **DC-Cam Statement of HIM Hon alias Him Han alias Ream** entitled *DC-Cam Interview of HIM Hon alias Him Han alias Ream* dated 22 April 1977 – 12 May 1977 (KHM), DCCN KCI1055, ERN 00019659-00019674; **DC-Cam Statement of RUOH Aem** entitled *DC-Cam Interview of RUOH Aem* dated 13 July 2002 (KHM), DCCN KHI0040, ERN 00020162-00020189; **DC-Cam Statement of SAV Yun** entitled *DC-Cam Interview of SAV Yun* dated 27 December 2002 (KHM), DCCN KDI0126, ERN 00019849-00019925.

⁸⁶ **CPK Standing Committee Minutes** entitled *Minutes of Meeting of Propaganda Work* dated 8 March 1976, DCCN D00685, ERN 00017124-00017127; The Standing Committee ordered the Ministry of Propaganda on 8 March 1976 to use radio broadcasts "to allow our inside [ranks], our people, our Army, to grasp" leadership messages. **CPK Standing Committee Minutes of Meeting** entitled *Minutes of Meeting regarding Propaganda Works* dated 1 June 1976, DCCN D00706, ERN 00000837-00000851; At another Standing Committee meeting eleven weeks later, **POL Pot** congratulated Ministry of Propaganda cadre on having "fulfilled its duties to the maximum," asserting that "the radio section [...] gets messages across [to] all of our circles."

⁸⁷ **CPK Magazine** entitled *Revolutionary Flag* dated July 1976, pages 12-24, ERN 00062905-00062945; This issue contained a number of articles intended to disseminate the Party line among CPK rank and file members, such as "Carry Out Even More Powerful Shock Assaults in Accordance with the Correct Action Line and with the Utmost Effect."

⁸⁸ **CPK Magazine** entitled *Revolutionary Flag* dated July 1976, pages 1-5, ERN 00062905-00062945; The first section of the issue is devoted to "Slogans for Mid-1976."

⁸⁹ **CPK Standing Committee Meeting Minutes** dated 9 October 1975 page 5, DCCN D00677, ERN 00019108-00019126; The SC directs that "When a telegram comes in, immediately when it is received, the office must hand it to the responsible section immediately, so they can examine and consider it and make proposals to the Standing Committee. ... Military matters are given to the military, commerce matters to Commerce, Party matters to the Party section." **DC-Cam Report** entitled *The Khmer Rouge Communication Documents 1975-1978: Democratic Kampuchea's Confidential Documents* dated 14 November 2006; This is a translated compendium of 556 such messages primarily from various subordinate units addressed to Office 870, Angkar, Brother Number One and other senior leaders of the Party Center.

⁹⁰ **DK Government Telegram by Office 870** entitled *Advice from 870* dated 3 January 1979, DCCN D01993, ERN 00002978-00002981; **CPK Directive from Office 870** entitled *Announcement of Steady and Absolute*

Combat Against the Yvon Enemy Aggressors and Expansionist Land-Grabbers dated 1 January 1979, DCCN D10837, ERN 00021108-00021108; these two directives from Office 870 were distributed to essentially every echelon of the political and military hierarchy.

⁹¹ **S-21 Confession of MÂP Chhaoey alias Duch** entitled *Responses of Mâp Chhaoey alias Duch, Member, Political Department (B-1); On the History of My Own Traitorous Activities* dated 30 August 1978, DCCN M3, ERN 00001128-00001163; **NUON Chea** repeatedly visits Sector 103. **CPK Standing Committee Minutes** entitled *Minutes on the Standing [Committee's] visit to Northwest Zone* dated 20 - 24 August 1975, DCCN L01022, ERN 00008485-00008493.

⁹² **CPK Standing Committee Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of Meeting of Propaganda Work* dated 8 March 1976, DCCN D00685, ERN 00017124-00017127.

⁹³ **CPK Legal Document** entitled *Communist Party of Kampuchea Statute* dated January 1976 article 7 paragraph 2, DCCN D00674, ERN 00053007-00053080.

⁹⁴ **CPK Legal Document** entitled *Communist Party of Kampuchea Statute* dated January 1976 article 18 paragraph 2, DCCN D00674, ERN 00053007-00053080.

⁹⁵ **CPK Legal Document** entitled *Communist Party of Kampuchea Statute* dated January 1976 article 18 paragraph 3, DCCN D00674, ERN 00053007-00053080.

⁹⁶ **CPK Legal Document** entitled *Communist Party of Kampuchea Statute* dated January 1976 articles 19 paragraph 1, DCCN D00674, ERN 00053007-00053080.

⁹⁷ **CPK Legal Document** entitled *Communist Party of Kampuchea Statute* dated January 1976 article 1, DCCN D00674, ERN 00053007-00053080.

⁹⁸ **CPK Legal Document** entitled *Communist Party of Kampuchea Statute* dated January 1976 articles 11 (Branches), 12 (Districts) & 15 (Sectors), DCCN D00674, ERN 00053007-00053080.

⁹⁹ **S-21 Confession of MEAH Chhuon alias Voek alias Chhean** entitled *Responses of the Contemptible Chhean, Secretary of Sector 22, East Zone, 21 June 1978* dated 21 June 1978 page 7, TSA M31.

¹⁰⁰ **S-21 Confession of TAUCH Chaem alias Sot** entitled *Responses of Tauch Chaem alias Sot, Secretary, Sector 21, East Zone: Record of the History of the Traitorous Activities of Sot Himself* dated 18 May 1978 pages 7 & 13, TSA T34.

¹⁰¹ **Biography of KE Pauk** entitled *Ke Pauk Had Defended Himself Before He Died* dated March 2002, ERN 00089708-00089716; He describes allowing one of his own mentors to escape arrest after the man had been compromised in an S-21 confession.

¹⁰² **CPK Legal Document** entitled *Communist Party of Kampuchea Statute* dated January 1976 article 19 paragraph 3, DCCN D00674, ERN 00053007-00053080.

¹⁰³ **CPK Legal Document** entitled *Communist Party of Kampuchea Statute* dated January 1976 article 19 paragraph 4, DCCN D00674, ERN 00053007-00053080.

¹⁰⁴ **CPK Central Committee Directive** entitled *Decision of the Central Committee Regarding a Number of Matters* dated 30 March 1976, DCCN D00693, ERN 0003136-0003142.

¹⁰⁵ **Suspect Statement of IENG Sary alias Vann** dated 17 December 1996, ERN 00003660-00003669.

¹⁰⁶ **S-21 Confession of CHOU Chet alias Si** dated 21 March 1978, page 23, TSA C117, ERN 00013660-00013990.

¹⁰⁷ **Suspect Statement of NUON Chea** entitled *History of the Struggle and Movement of Our Cambodian Peasants from 1954 to 1970* dated 1978, ERN 00078183-00078207; In this passage, **NUON Chea** confirms that the Khmer Rouge euphemism for killing was "smash."

¹⁰⁸ **Suspect Statement of NUON Chea** entitled *History of the Struggle and Movement of Our Cambodian Peasants from 1954 to 1970* dated 1978, ERN 00078183-00078207.

¹⁰⁹ **DK Government Meeting Minutes** entitled *Presentation by the Comrade Party Secretary During the session of the first meeting of the Council of Ministers* dated 22 April 1976 pages 9-10, ECCC/OCF T1011, ERN 00072753-00072768 (pages 11-12 in original pagination).

¹¹⁰ **DK Military Telegram** entitled *To respected, beloved and missed Angkar* dated 4 August 1978, DCCN D02165.

¹¹¹ **S-21 Confession of CHAN Phat alias Phôk** entitled *Responses of Chan Phat alias Phôk, Chairman for Security, Central Zone: History of Phôk's Own Activities* dated 25 November 1977 pages 32-38, TSA C2.

¹¹² **S-21 Confession of MEAH Mon alias Kaev Samnang** dated 23 May 1978, TSA M28, ERN 00035863-00036640; **S-21 Confession of MEAH Aem** dated 1978, TSA M264, ERN 00075561-00075568; These documents provide an overall account of the military organization in the East Zone, where Mon was Chairman of the East Zone General Staff and concurrently Chairman of the East Zone Security Service (codenamed S-79), and the Northwest Zone, where more typical security arrangements were in effect.

¹¹³ **CPK Magazine** entitled *Revolutionary Flag, Special Issue, December 1977-January 1978* dated December 1977 page 48, ERN 00064512-00064550.

¹¹⁴ The term "storming attack" reflects the CPK's linguistic penchant for applying military terminology to the civilian domain, and refers specifically to an intense, all-out effort.

¹¹⁵ **CPK Telegram by Pok** entitled *Telegram 94 - Radio Band 1100 - With Respect to Beloved Brother Pol* dated 2 April 1976, DCCN L0001187, ERN 00000766-00000767.

¹¹⁶ **Statements by TUK Hol** entitled *Witness Deposition in the Office of the People's Revolutionary Committee of Siemreap Village 3* dated 21 June 1979 and *Letter of Denunciation by Tuk Hol* dated 20 June 1979 in **Book by Howard J. DENIKE, John QUIGLEY and Kenneth J. ROBINSON, eds.,** entitled *Genocide in Cambodia: Documents from the Trial of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary* dated 2000 pages 90-94 (Philadelphia: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2000); This translation renders the name Tuk Hol as "Tik How."

¹¹⁷ **CPK Standing Committee Minutes** entitled *Minutes on the Standing [Committee's] visit to Northwest Zone* dated 20 – 24 August 1975, DCCN L01022, ERN 00008485-00008493.

¹¹⁸ **DK-Government Report by Mo-560/Comrade Chhan** entitled *The Situation in the North-West Zone* dated 29 May 1977, DCCN L0001436, ERN 00008497-00008501.

¹¹⁹ **DK-Government Report by Mo-560/Comrade Chhan** entitled *The Situation in the North-West Zone* dated 29 May 1977, DCCN L0001436, ERN 00008497-00008501.

¹²⁰ **DK Military Telegram by Chhon** entitled *Telegram 21 - Radio Band 676 - To Beloved and Missed Brother Pol* dated 21 March 1976, DCCN L0001158, ERN 00052346-00052346.

¹²¹ **CPK Telegram by Chhon** entitled *Telegram 15 - With Respect to Beloved Brother Pol* dated 30 November 1975 DCCN L0001045, ERN 00008494-00008495.

¹²² **S-21 Confession of CHAN Chakrei alias Nov Mean** entitled *Chakrei on Ruoh Phuon* dated 4 July 1976, TSA C176 (Heder summary translation CHAKREI.008, ECCC/OCP UNK134); Nov Mean stated, "After liberation Phuon drove to see Chhouk many times without putting in requests to the Organization."

¹²³ **Biography of KE Pauk** entitled *Ke Pauk Had Defended Himself Before He Died* dated March 2002, ERN 00089708-00089716; Central Zone Secretary Ke Pauk described how he "worked closely with" S-21, communicating by messenger and through face-to-face interactions with Son Sen and DUCH.

¹²⁴ **CPK Standing Committee Minutes** entitled *Minutes on the Standing [Committee's] visit to Northwest Zone* dated 20 – 24 August 1975, DCCN L01022, ERN 00008485-00008493.

¹²⁵ **DC-Cam Statement of IM Chem** dated 4 March 2007; Chem says that she got approval for her waterworks plans from the Zone.

¹²⁶ **DC-Cam Statement of IM Chem** dated 4 March 2007; Chem describes how policy was handed down "from the Zone" and how the Zone "called us to join the meeting to receive the plan." **Biography of KE Pauk** entitled *Ke Pauk Had Defended Himself Before He Died* dated March 2002, ERN 00089708-00089716; KE Pauk has described how he gathered 500 Central Zone cadre in Kampong Cham Provincial town in 1975 for a conference to disseminate the new political line of Socialist Revolution.

¹²⁷ **Biography of KE Pauk** entitled *Ke Pauk Had Defended Himself Before He Died* dated March 2002, ERN 00089708-00089716; He describes having conducted an assembly in Sector 41. **DC-Cam Statement of IM Chem** dated 4 March 2007; Chem describes a visit to her District by Zone Secretary Nhim.

¹²⁸ **CPK Legal Document** entitled *Communist Party of Kampuchea Statute* dated January 1976 article 19 paragraph 1, DCCN D00674, ERN 00053007-00053080; Zone Committees were required to "Go down close to the Sectors, Districts, Branches, and the specific bases of the Branches in the unions and cooperatives and in the Revolutionary Army, in order to lead the implementation of tasks, both among the masses and internally."

¹²⁹ **CPK Legal Document** entitled *Communist Party of Kampuchea Statute* dated January 1976 articles 18 & 20, DCCN D00674, ERN 00053007-00053080; Zones were required to hold Zone Representational Conferences annually, and Zone Ordinary Conferences quarterly. At the quarterly conferences, the Zone Committee was required to "examine, monitor, and deliberate on old work and to bring up new work."

¹³⁰ **Biography of KE Pauk** entitled *Ke Pauk Had Defended Himself Before He Died* dated March 2002, ERN 00089708-00089716; Ke Pauk has described how he gathered 500 Central Zone cadre in Kampong Cham Provincial town in 1975 for a conference to disseminate the new political line of Socialist Revolution. **DC-Cam Statement of IM Chem** dated 4 March 2007; Chem tells of a meeting with Zone Secretary Nhim and a small group of his aides.

¹³¹ **CPK Legal Document** entitled *Communist Party of Kampuchea Statute* dated January 1976 article 19 paragraph 4, DCCN D00674, ERN 00053007-00053080; This paragraph specified that the Zones were responsible for "maintaining a system of reporting to the Central Committee on the situation and the work of the Zone." **CPK Standing Committee Minutes** entitled *Minutes of Meeting on Base Work* dated 8 March 1976 pages 2 & 3, DCCN D00684, ERN 00017116-0001712; Directive specified that this reporting regime should be weekly.

¹³² **DC-Cam Statement of IM Chem** dated 4 March 2007; One District Secretary in the Northwest, however, described a regime of monthly reporting to upper echelon.

¹³³ **CPK Legal Document** entitled *Communist Party of Kampuchea Statute* dated January 1976 article 7 paragraph 3, DCCN D00674, ERN 00053007-00053080.

¹³⁴ **CPK Legal Document** entitled *Communist Party of Kampuchea Statute* dated January 1976 article 15 paragraph 2, DCCN D00674, ERN 00053007-00053080.

¹³⁵ **CPK Legal Document** entitled *Communist Party of Kampuchea Statute* dated January 1976 article 15 paragraph 3, DCCN D00674, ERN 00053007-00053080.

¹³⁶ **CPK Legal Document** entitled *Communist Party of Kampuchea Statute* dated January 1976 article 16 paragraph 2, DCCN D00674, ERN 00053007-00053080.

- ¹³⁷ CPK Legal Document entitled *Communist Party of Kampuchea Statute* dated January 1976 article 16 paragraph 3, DCCN D00674, ERN 00053007-00053080.
- ¹³⁸ CPK Legal Document entitled *Communist Party of Kampuchea Statute* dated January 1976 article 16 paragraph 4, DCCN D00674, ERN 00053007-00053080.
- ¹³⁹ S-21 Confession of CHOU Chet alias Si entitled *IV. From 17 April 1975 to 26 March 1978* dated 20 March 1978 page 25, TSA C117, ERN 00013660-00013990. S-21 Confession of TEUM Sen alias Sit entitled *History of the Traitorous Political Activities of Teum Sen alias Sit, Secretary of Kah Thom District, Sector 25, Southwest Zone* dated 20 October 1977, DCCN J440.
- ¹⁴⁰ DK Military Telegram entitled *Dear Beloved Office 870* dated 11 May 1977, DCCN L0001410.
- ¹⁴¹ CPK Magazine by the Communist Party of Kampuchea entitled *Revolutionary Flag Special Issue* dated October to November 1977, ERN 00000267-00000277.
- ¹⁴² CPK Magazine by the Communist Party of Kampuchea entitled *Revolutionary Flag, Special Issue, May-June 1978* dated May 1978 page 22, DCCN D21248, ERN 00064551-00064585.
- ¹⁴³ CPK Telegram by Sang entitled *Telegram 50 - Radio Band 948 - Presented with Respect to Beloved and Missed Brother* dated 18 July 1976 (KHM), DCCN L0001345, ERN 00021494-00021495.
- ¹⁴⁴ DK Military Telegram by Chhon entitled *Telegram 21 - Radio Band 676 - To Beloved and Missed Brother Pol* dated 21 March 1976, DCCN L0001158, ERN 00052346-00052346.
- ¹⁴⁵ S-21 Confession of KHOEM Chhum dated 11 September 1978, TSA K224.
- ¹⁴⁶ S-21 Confession of KHOEM Chhum dated 11 September 1978, TSA K224.
- ¹⁴⁷ S-21 Confession of SIENG Pauy alias Sean dated 28 October 1977, DCCN J734, ERN 00001361-00001361.
- ¹⁴⁸ S-21 Confession of SIENG Pauy alias Sean dated 28 October 1977, DCCN J734, ERN 00001361-00001361.
- ¹⁴⁹ S-21 Confession of MEAH Mon alias Kaev Samnang dated 23 May 1978, TSA M28, ERN, 00035863-00036640; S-21 Confession of MEAH Aem dated 1978, TSA M264, ERN 00075561-00075568; These documents provide an overall account of the military organization in the East Zone and the Northwest Zone.
- ¹⁵⁰ DK Military Telegram entitled *Report of Region 1* dated 28 May 1977, DCCN L0001434.
- ¹⁵¹ S-21 Confession of MÂP Chhaoey alias Dûch entitled *Responses of Mâp Chhaoey alias Dûch, Member, Political Department (B-1); On the History of My Own Traitorous Activities* dated 30 August 1978, TSA M3, ERN 00001128-00001163.
- ¹⁵² S-21 Confession of MÂP Chhaoey alias Dûch entitled *Responses of Mâp Chhaoey alias Dûch, Member, Political Department (B-1); On the History of My Own Traitorous Activities* dated 30 August 1978, TSA M3, ERN 00001128-00001163.
- ¹⁵³ CPK Standing Committee Minutes entitled *Minutes on the Standing [Committee's] visit to Northwest Zone* dated 20 - 24 August 1975, DCCN L01022, ERN 00008485-00008493.
- ¹⁵⁴ S-21 Confession of KHOEM Chhûm entitled *Responses of Khoem Chhûm, Deputy Secretary, Sector 43, Central Zone: On the History of His Own Traitorous Activities* dated 11 September 1978 pages 37-39, TSA K224.
- ¹⁵⁵ CPK Magazine by the Communist Party of Kampuchea entitled *Revolutionary Flag, Special Issue, December 1977-January 1978* dated December 1977 page 48, ERN 00064512-00064550.
- ¹⁵⁶ CPK Legal Document entitled *Communist Party of Kampuchea Statute* dated January 1976 article 16 paragraph 4, DCCN D00674, ERN 00053007-00053080.
- ¹⁵⁷ CPK Standing Committee Minutes entitled *Minutes of Meeting on Base Work* dated 8 March 1976, DCCN D00684, ERN 00017116-0001712; A meeting at which Sot reported to the SC for Sector 106 and Hang reported for Sector 103, both discussing the economic situation in their sectors, as well as "enemy" activity, including the arrest of "almost 100" persons in Sector 103. At this same meeting, Sreng also reported to the Standing Committee for 303 (the old North Zone), striking the same themes as his colleagues from 103 and 106.
- ¹⁵⁸ CPK Standing Committee Minutes entitled *Minutes of Meeting on Base Work* dated 8 March 1976, DCCN D00684, ERN 00017116-0001712; The Standing Committee directed lower echelons to provide reports "every week on the rice field dike situation. Send general reports, send reports through various spearheads. Propose short reports by telegram, [all this so] the Standing Committee knows the situation in order to provide timely instructions."
- ¹⁵⁹ CPK Standing Committee Minutes entitled *Minutes of Meeting on Base Work* dated 8 March 1976, DCCN D00684, ERN 00017116-0001712; POL Pot proposed that Sectors report "to the Standing Committee every week on the rice field dike situation" via telegram.
- ¹⁶⁰ S-21 Confession of MEAH Chhuon alias Voek alias Chhean entitled *Responses of the Contemptible Chhean, Secretary of Sector 22, East Zone* dated 21 June 1978 pages 1 & 2, TSA M31, ECCC/OCP UNK140 (Heder summary translation CHHEAN.001); Chhean describes being called to Zone headquarters for meetings. S-21 Confession of PHOK Sari alias Tom entitled *Notes presented to the Organization on the History of the Treason of Phok Sari alias Tom, Secretary of Sector 3, Northwest Zone* dated 4 September 1978 pages 1 & 3, TSA P200, ECCC/OCP UNK167 (Heder summary translation TOM.001); Tom describes being called with other Sector Secretaries to meetings at Zone headquarters.

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¹⁶¹ **S-21 Confession of MEAH Chhuon alias Voek alias Chhean** entitled *Responses of the Contemptible Chhean, Secretary of Sector 22, East Zone* dated 21 June 1978 page 3, TSA M31, ECCC/OCF UNK140 (Heder summary translation CHHEAN.001); Chhean describes being summoned to Phnom Penh for a meeting with the Center.

¹⁶² **S-21 Confession of PHOK Sari alias Tom** entitled *Notes presented to the Organization on the History of the Treason of Phok Sari alias Tom, Secretary of Sector 3, Northwest Zone* dated 4 September 1978 page 2, TSA P200, ECCC/OCF UNK167 (Heder summary translation TOM.001); Tom describes transmitting instructions to District Secretaries in his Sector. **S-21 Confession of SAOM Chea** entitled *Responses of Saom Chea, Secretary of Sector 25, Southwest Zone: On the Record of Traitorous Activities After 17 April* dated 25 May 1978 page 20, TSA S214, ECCC/OCF UNK135 (Heder summary translation CHEA.001); Chea describes his activities in fashioning Communes in his Sector.

¹⁶³ **S-21 Confession of MINH Thoeum alias Heang** entitled *The Record and Activities of Minh Thoeum alias Heang, Secretary of Sector 4, Northwest Zone* dated 20 June 1978 page 3, TSA M83, ECCC/OCF UNK147 (Heder summary translation HEANG.001); Heang describes the work he carried out to "grasp" activities in his Sector's Cooperatives.

¹⁶⁴ **S-21 Confession of MINH Thoeum alias Heang** entitled *The Record and Activities of Minh Thoeum alias Heang, Secretary of Sector 4, Northwest Zone* dated 20 June 1978 pages 1-3, TSA M83, ECCC/OCF UNK147 (Heder summary translation HEANG.001); Heang describes the different methods he used for face-to-face instruction of his subordinate echelons.

¹⁶⁵ **S-21 Confession of MINH Thoeum alias Heang** entitled *The Record and Activities of Minh Thoeum alias Heang, Secretary of Sector 4, Northwest Zone* dated 20 June 1978 page 3, TSA M83, ECCC/OCF UNK147 (Heder summary translation HEANG.001); Heang describes summoning his District Secretaries to Sector headquarters for meetings.

¹⁶⁶ **S-21 Confessions of KHOEM Chhũm** entitled *Responses of Khoem Chhũm, Deputy Secretary, Sector 43, Central Zone: On the History of His Own Traitorous Activities* dated 11 September 1978 pages 37-39, TSA K224; Chhũm describes going with Sector 43 Secretary Chũn to inspect the construction of waterworks.

¹⁶⁷ **S-21 Confession of MÂP Chhaoey alias Dũch** entitled *Responses of Mâp Chhaoey alias Dũch, Member, Political Department (B-1); On the History of My Own Traitorous Activities* dated 30 August 1978, TSA M3, ERN 00001128-00001163; Dũch recounts NUON Chea's inspection visits to Sector 103.

¹⁶⁸ **S-21 Confession of MEAH Chhuon alias Voek alias Chhean** entitled *Responses of the Contemptible Chhean, Secretary of Sector 22, East Zone* dated 21 June 1978 page 3, TSA M31, ECCC/OCF UNK140 (Heder summary translation CHHEAN.001); Chhean reports how "Everybody was therefore to wait to hear the radio" to receive orders.

¹⁶⁹ **DK Military Telegram by Chhon** entitled *Telegram 21 - Radio Band 676 - To Beloved and Missed Brother Pol* dated 21 March 1976, DCCN L0001158, ERN 00052346-00052346; This is a written communication from Sector 24 Secretary Chhouk to East Zone Secretary Chhon, which the latter subsequently forwarded to POL Pot with copies to other members of the Center. **DK Military Telegram by Yi** entitled *Dear Beloved Office 870* dated 11 May 1977, DCCN L0001410.

¹⁷⁰ **DC-Cam Statement of IM Chem** dated 4 March 2007; The Secretary of the Northwest Zone's Preah Net Preah District recalls receiving written orders for the arrest of various persons who had been identified as enemies by upper echelon. **S-21 Confession of KHEANG Sim Horn alias But** dated 18 December 1978 page 74, TSA K222 (Heder summary translation BUT.003); But asserts "I wrote a letter instructing every sector about the measures in Von's instructions for the Northeast."

¹⁷¹ **CPK Legal Document** entitled *Communist Party of Kampuchea Statute* dated January 1976 article 7 paragraph 4, DCCN D00674, ERN 00053007-00053080.

¹⁷² **CPK Legal Document** entitled *Communist Party of Kampuchea Statute* dated January 1976 article 12 paragraph 2, DCCN D00674, ERN 00053007-00053080.

¹⁷³ **CPK Legal Document** entitled *Communist Party of Kampuchea Statute* dated January 1976 article 12 paragraph 3, DCCN D00674, ERN 00053007-00053080.

¹⁷⁴ **CPK Legal Document** entitled *Communist Party of Kampuchea Statute* dated January 1976 article 13 paragraph 2, DCCN D00674, ERN 00053007-00053080.

¹⁷⁵ **CPK Legal Document** entitled *Communist Party of Kampuchea Statute* dated January 1976 article 13 paragraph 3, DCCN D00674, ERN 00053007-00053080.

¹⁷⁶ **CPK Legal Document** entitled *Communist Party of Kampuchea Statute* dated January 1976 article 13 paragraph 4, DCCN D00674, ERN 00053007-00053080.

¹⁷⁷ **S-21 Confession of TEUM Sen alias Sit** entitled *History of the Traitorous Political Activities of Teum Sen alias Sit* dated 20 October 1977, DCCN J440.

¹⁷⁸ **S-21 Confession of TEUM Sen alias Sit** entitled *History of the Traitorous Political Activities of Teum Sen alias Sit* dated 20 October 1977, DCCN J440.

¹⁷⁹ **DC-Cam Statement of CHIEM Nha** dated 21 May 2004, DCCN TKI0579, ERN 00055931-00055965.

- ¹⁸⁰ **S-21 Confession of MEAH Mon** alias Kaev Samnang dated 23 May 1978, TSA M28, ERN . 00035863-00036640; **S-21 Confession of MEAH Aem** dated 1978, TSA M264, ERN 00075561-00075568; These documents provide an overall account of the military organization in the East Zone and the Northwest Zone.
- ¹⁸¹ **CPK Magazine by the Communist Party of Kampuchea** entitled *Revolutionary Flag Special Issue* dated October to November 1977, pages 1-41, ERN 00000267-00000277.
- ¹⁸² **CPK Magazine by the Communist Party of Kampuchea** entitled *Revolutionary Flag Special Issue* dated October to November 1977, pages 1-41, ERN 00000267-00000277.
- ¹⁸³ **CPK Central Committee Report** entitled *Excerpted Report on the Leading Views of the Comrade Representing the Party Organization at a Zone Assembly* dated June 1976 in **Book by David CHANDLER, Ben KIERNAN and Chanthou BOUA** entitled *Pol Pot Plans the Future: Confidential Documents from Democratic Kampuchea* dated 1988 page 21 (New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asia Council Monograph No. 33).
- ¹⁸⁴ **CPK Central Committee Report** entitled *Excerpted Report on the Leading Views of the Comrade Representing the Party Organization at a Zone Assembly* dated June 1976 in **Book by David CHANDLER, Ben KIERNAN and Chanthou BOUA** entitled *Pol Pot Plans the Future: Confidential Documents from Democratic Kampuchea* dated 1988 pages 14-18 (New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asia Council Monograph No. 33).
- ¹⁸⁵ **CPK Central Committee Report** entitled *Excerpted Report on the Leading Views of the Comrade Representing the Party Organization at a Zone Assembly* dated June 1976 in **Book by David CHANDLER, Ben KIERNAN and Chanthou BOUA** entitled *Pol Pot Plans the Future: Confidential Documents from Democratic Kampuchea* dated 1988 page 24 (New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asia Council Monograph No. 33).
- ¹⁸⁶ **CPK Central Committee Report** entitled *Excerpted Report on the Leading Views of the Comrade Representing the Party Organization at a Zone Assembly* dated June 1976 in **Book by David CHANDLER, Ben KIERNAN and Chanthou BOUA** entitled *Pol Pot Plans the Future: Confidential Documents from Democratic Kampuchea* dated 1988 pages 25-27 (New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asia Council Monograph No. 33).
- ¹⁸⁷ **CPK Central Committee Report** entitled *The Party's Four-Year Plan to Build Socialism in All Fields, 1977-1980* dated July-August 1976 in **Book by David CHANDLER, Ben KIERNAN and Chanthou BOUA** entitled *Pol Pot Plans the Future: Confidential Documents from Democratic Kampuchea* dated 1988 pages 116-118 (New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asia Council Monograph No. 33).
- ¹⁸⁸ **CPK Central Committee Report** entitled *Preliminary Explanation Before Reading the Plan, by the Party Secretary* dated 21 August 1976 in **Book by David CHANDLER, Ben KIERNAN and Chanthou BOUA** entitled *Pol Pot Plans the Future: Confidential Documents from Democratic Kampuchea* dated 1988 pages 161-162 (New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asia Council Monograph No. 33).
- ¹⁸⁹ **CPK Magazine by the Communist Party of Kampuchea** entitled *Revolutionary Flag Special Issue* dated October to November 1977, ERN 00000267-00000277.
- ¹⁹⁰ **CPK Magazine** entitled *Revolutionary Flag, Special Issue, December 1977-January 1978* dated December 1977 pages 57-58, ERN 00064512-00064550.
- ¹⁹¹ **DC-Cam Statement of CHIEM Nha** dated 21 May 2004, DCCN TKI0579, ERN 00055931-00055965.
- ¹⁹² **DK Military Telegram** entitled *To beloved and missed Com 870* dated 23 August 1977, DCCN D01702.
- ¹⁹³ **S-21 Confession of MÂP Chhaoey alias Dũch** entitled *Responses of Mâp Chhaoey alias Dũch, Member, Political Department (B-1); On the History of My Own Traitorous Activities* dated 30 August 1978, TSA M3, ERN 00001128-00001163.
- ¹⁹⁴ **CPK Legal Document** entitled *Communist Party of Kampuchea Statute* dated January 1976 article 13 paragraph 4, DCCN D00674, ERN 00053007-00053080.
- ¹⁹⁵ **DC-Cam Statement of IM Chem** dated 4 March 2007; Preah Net Preah District Secretary Im Chem describes how her plans for constructing waterworks were vetted and approved by Zone Secretary Nhim.
- ¹⁹⁶ **CPK Legal Document** entitled *Communist Party of Kampuchea Statute* dated January 1976 article 12 paragraph 3, DCCN D00674, ERN 00053007-00053080.
- ¹⁹⁷ **S-21 Confession of MÂP Chhaoey alias Dũch** entitled *Responses of Mâp Chhaoey alias Dũch, Member, Political Department (B-1); On the History of My Own Traitorous Activities* dated 30 August 1978, DCCN M3, ERN 00001128-00001163.
- ¹⁹⁸ **DK Government Report** entitled *Report* dated 4 May 1977, DCCN D00275; This note from Soeun, Chief of Kus Commune, to the Tram Kok District Chief, requests instructions on how to handle particular set of prisoners.
- ¹⁹⁹ **DK Government Report** entitled *Report to Angkar of Tram Kak District* dated 28 April 1977, DCCN D00203, ERN 00079087-00079099; The Ta Phem Commune Branch Committee, after having received instructions from the upper echelon and subsequently having swept away "ranking" enemies, requested the guidance of the Tram Kak District echelon in the Southwest Zone on how to dispose of six additional "enemies" it had identified.
- ²⁰⁰ **Statement of TA Tham** dated 28 March 2002, ERN 00080566-00080587.

- 201 **DC-Cam Statement of IM Chem** dated 4 March 2007; Chem describes this mode of interaction with her subordinates in lower echelons.
- 202 **DC-Cam Statement of IM Chem** dated 4 March 2007; Chem recounts summoning village and commune chiefs for meetings at the District office.
- 203 **DC-Cam Statement of IM Chem** dated 4 March 2007; Chem describes constantly moving around her District to monitor conditions and disseminate instructions.
- 204 **CPK Legal Document** entitled *Communist Party of Kampuchea Statute* dated January 1976 articles 9-11, DCCN D00674, ERN 00053007-00053080.
- 205 **CPK Legal Document** entitled *Communist Party of Kampuchea Statute* dated January 1976 article 10 paragraphs 1&2, DCCN D00674, ERN 00053007-00053080.
- 206 **CPK Legal Document** entitled *Communist Party of Kampuchea Statute* dated January 1976 article 9, DCCN D00674, ERN 00053007-00053080.
- 207 **Analytical Report by the Government of the United States** entitled *Submission of the Government of the United States Under the Commission on Human Right Decision 9* dated 6 July 1978 pages 16-18, ERN 00087610-00087627.
- 208 **CPK Legal Document** entitled *Communist Party of Kampuchea Statute* dated January 1976 article 11 paragraph 3, DCCN D00674, ERN 00053007-00053080.
- 209 **CPK Legal Document** entitled *Communist Party of Kampuchea Statute* dated January 1976 article 11 paragraph 2, DCCN D00674, ERN 00053007-00053080.
- 210 **CPK Legal Document** entitled *Communist Party of Kampuchea Statute* dated January 1976 article 10 paragraph 2(b), DCCN D00674, ERN 00053007-00053080.
- 211 **DC-Cam Statement of CHIEM Nha** dated 21 May 2004, DCCN TKI0579, ERN 00055931-00055965.
- 212 **CPK Magazine** entitled *Revolutionary Flag Special Issue* dated October to November 1977, ERN 00000267-00000277.
- 213 **CPK Legal Document** entitled *Communist Party of Kampuchea Statute* dated January 1976 article 10 paragraph 2(b), DCCN D00674, ERN 00053007-00053080.
- 214 **CPK Magazine** entitled *Revolutionary Flag, Special Issue, December 1977-January 1978* dated December 1977 pages 57-58, ERN 00064512-00064550.
- 215 **S-21 Confession of MEAH Mon alias Kaev Samnang** dated 23 May 1978, TSA M28, ERN 00035863-00036640. **S-21 Confession of MEAH Aem** dated 1978, TSA M264, ERN 00075561-00075568; These documents provide an overall account of the military organization in the East Zone and the Northwest Zone.
- 216 **Analytical Report by the Government of Norway** entitled *Submission of the Government of Norway to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, Interview of Refugee F Annex 4* pages 6-7, ERN 00087537-00087571.
- 217 **Analytical Report by the Government of the United States** entitled *Submission of the Government of the United States Under the Commission on Human Right Decision 9* dated 6 July 1978 pages 16-18, ERN 00087610-00087627.
- 218 **DC-Cam Statement of CHIEM Nha** dated 21 May 2004, DCCN TKI0579, ERN 00055931-00055965.
- 219 **Analytical Report by the Government of Norway** entitled *Submission of the Government of Norway to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, Account of Kong Samrach* page 19, ERN 00087537-00087571.
- 220 **Analytical Report by the Government of the United States** entitled *Submission of the Government of the United States Under the Commission on Human Right Decision 9* dated 6 July 1978 pages 16-18, ERN 00087610-00087627.
- 221 **DK Military Telegram by Lin** entitled *To Beloved and Missed Mo[office]* 870 dated 14 August 1977, DCCN D01760, ERN 00020857-00020857.
- 222 **DK Government Report by AR Saom** entitled *Dear beloved Comrade Police of Tram Kak District* dated 1 March 1978, DCCN D00266.
- 223 **DK Government Report** entitled *DK Government Report on the Border Situation in Region 21* dated 26 June 1977, DCCN D01645, ERN 00052830-00052831.
- 224 **CPK Legal Document** entitled *Communist Party of Kampuchea Statute* dated January 1976 article 10 paragraph 1, DCCN D00674, ERN 00053007-00053080.
- 225 **DC-Cam Statement of CHIEM Nha** dated 21 May 2004, DCCN TKI0579, ERN 00055931-00055965.
- 226 **Analytical Report by the Government of Norway** entitled *Submission of the Government of Norway to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, Account of Kong Samrach* page 17, ERN 00087537-00087571.
- 227 **Statement of TA Tham** dated 28 March 2002, ERN 00080566-00080587; This commune official transmitted biographies to the District echelon as part of the search for "enemies."
- 228 **DK Government Report** entitled *Report to the Angkar of Tram Kak District* dated 9 October 1977, DCCN D00237, ERN 00079106-00079106; CPK cadre of Trapeang Thom Khang Cheung Commune reported to the Tram Kak District echelon in the Southwest Zone about three individuals arrested by *chhlop* on suspicion of being enemies, and subsequently sent them to the District security office at Kraing Ta Chan.
- 229 **DK Government Report by the Cooperative Committee of Ta Phem Commune** dated 13 May 1977, DCCN D00172, ERN 00079083-00079085; The Cooperative Committee of Ta Phem Commune reported to

Ams

"Angkar" (at the Tram Kok District echelon) on a labor disruption involving a person refusing to participate in a work brigade.

²³⁰ **DC-Cam Statement of IM Chem** dated 4 March 2007; Chem recounts summoning village and commune chiefs to a meeting at the District office.

²³¹ **Confession of HU Him** entitled *Planning the Past: Forced Confessions of Hu Him in Book by David CHANDLER, Ben KIERNAN and Chanthou BOUA* entitled *Pol Pot Plans the Future: Confidential Documents from Democratic Kampuchea* dated 1988 pages 312-313 (New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asia Council Monograph No. 33); HU Him recounts having been instructed by POL Pot, via KHIEU Samphan, to investigate PRUM Sam-A and determine if he was an "enemy." A self-criticism session within the Party Branch determined that Sam-A was an "enemy" – for example, he criticized the evacuation of the cities as having led to the deaths of the evacuees – and when the Branch cell declared that he was an enemy, he committed suicide.

²³² **Statement of TA Tham** dated 28 March 2002, ERN 00080566-00080587; One Commune cadre in the Southwest's Tram Kak District described how he talked to "guards" in his Commune to discover what had happened to New People who had been removed from his supervision.

²³³ **Analytical Report by the Government of the United States** entitled *Submission of the Government of the United States Under the Commission on Human Right Decision 9* dated 6 July 1978 pages 16-18, ERN 00087610-00087627; MON Sieu describes how village chiefs would call a meeting to reprimand persons who had been late to arrive at a worksite.

²³⁴ **DK Government Legal Document** entitled *Constitution of Democratic Kampuchea, 1976-1979* dated 6 January 1976 article 19, DCCN 21447, ERN 00089841-00089852.

²³⁵ **CPK Magazine** entitled *Revolutionary Flag* dated July 1976 pages 8-9, ERN 00062905-00062945; Stating that "core and crucial duty of the Revolutionary Army is the defence of the country and of security domestically within the country." **CPK Magazine** entitled *Revolutionary Youth* dated May 1976, ERN 00064003-00064040; Stating that the army "must constantly heighten its spirit of revolutionary vigilance and be combat ready to defend most firmly and excellently water, land, sea and island borders and the interior of the country so as to guarantee the security of our people in the co-operatives."

²³⁶ **CPK Legal Document** entitled *Communist Party of Kampuchea Statute* dated January 1976 article 27, DCCN D00674, ERN 00053007-00053080.

²³⁷ **CPK Legal Document** entitled *Communist Party of Kampuchea Statute* dated January 1976 article 28, DCCN D00674, ERN 00053007-00053080.

²³⁸ **CPK Standing Committee Meeting Minutes** dated 9 October 1975 page 2, DCCN D00677, ERN 00019108-00019126.

²³⁹ **CPK Magazine** entitled *Revolutionary Flag* dated July 1976 page 60, ERN 00062905-00062945.

²⁴⁰ **Suspect Statement of IENG Sary alias Van** dated 17 December 1996 page 2, ERN 00003660-000036699.

²⁴¹ **Suspect Statement of IENG Sary alias Van** dated 17 December 1996 page 2, ERN 00003660-000036699.

²⁴² **Suspect Statement of IENG Sary alias Van** dated 17 December 1996 page 2, ERN 00003660-000036699.

²⁴³ This listing of "Van" (IENG Sary's revolutionary name) may be a mistranscription for Von (VORN Vet's revolutionary name); this question can be resolved if and when the original Khmer-language notebook becomes available.

²⁴⁴ **CPK Central Committee Report** entitled *Document about the Fifth Congress of PP-IS around November 1978* dated 2 November 1978 (FR); The notes also identify a General Staff Committee comprising SON Sen as Chairman, and SOUS Met, TA Mok and Reuan as "Standing Members."

²⁴⁵ **DK Military Telegram by Lin** entitled *To Beloved and Missed Mo[office]* 870 dated 14 August 1977, DCCN D01760, ERN 00020857-00020857.

²⁴⁶ **DK Military Telegram by Lin** entitled *To Beloved and Missed Mo[office]* 870 dated 14 August 1977, DCCN D01760, ERN 00020857-00020857.

²⁴⁷ **DK Military Telegram by Phuong** entitled *Telegram 07 - Radio Band 269 - Dear Respected and Beloved M870* dated 23 December 1977, DCCN D01975, ERN 00020922-00020922.

²⁴⁸ **DK Military Telegram by Phuong** entitled *Telegram 06 - Radio Band 285 - Dear Respected and Beloved M870* dated 23 December 1977, DCCN D01972, ERN 00020919-00020919.

²⁴⁹ **DK Military Telegram by Phuong** entitled *Telegram 08 - Radio Band 275 - Dear Respected and Beloved M870* dated 24 December 1977, DCCN D01974, ERN 00020921-00020921.

²⁵⁰ **CPK Standing Committee Directive by Office 870** entitled *Advice from 870* dated 3 January 1979, DCCN D01993, ERN 00002978-00002981.

²⁵¹ **DK Military Telegram by Lin** entitled *To Beloved and Missed Mo[office]* 870 dated 14 August 1977, DCCN D01760, ERN 00020857-00020857. **DK Military Telegram by Phuong** entitled *Telegram 07 - Radio Band 269 - Dear Respected and Beloved M870* dated 23 December 1977, DCCN D01975, ERN 00020922-00020922. **DK Military Telegram by Phuong** entitled *Telegram 06 - Radio Band 285 - Dear Respected and Beloved M870* dated 23 December 1977, DCCN D01972, ERN 00020919-00020919; **DK Military Telegram by Phuong** entitled *Telegram 08 - Radio Band 275 - Dear Respected and Beloved M870* dated 24 December 1977, DCCN D01974, ERN 00020921-00020921.

- ²⁵² CPK Standing Committee Meeting Minutes dated 9 October 1975, DCCN D00677, ERN 00019108-00019126.
- ²⁵³ CPK Standing Committee Meeting Minutes dated 9 October 1975, DCCN D00677, ERN 00019108-00019126.
- ²⁵⁴ CPK Standing Committee Meeting Minutes dated 9 October 1975, DCCN D00677, ERN 00019108-00019126.
- ²⁵⁵ DK Military Report entitled *Table of Statistics on Students Studying at the First General Staff Study Session* dated 20 October 1976, DCCN L1512; DK Military Report entitled *Second General Staff Study Session* dated 23 November 1976, DCCN L0000230, ERN 00008459-00008470.
- ²⁵⁶ DK Military Report entitled *Second General Staff Study Session* dated 23 November 1976, DCCN L0000230, ERN 00008459-00008470.
- ²⁵⁷ S-21 Confession of SEAT Chhae alias Tum entitled *Responses: Seat Chhae alias Tum, ex-Secretary of Sector 22 - East Zone On the History of His Own Personal Activities Betraying the Party* dated 3 November 1977, DCCN J900, ERN 00005507-00005708.
- ²⁵⁸ S-21 Confession of SEAT Chhae alias Tum entitled *Responses: Seat Chhae alias Tum, ex-Secretary of Sector 22 - East Zone On the History of His Own Personal Activities Betraying the Party* dated 3 November 1977, DCCN J900, ERN 00005507-00005708.
- ²⁵⁹ S-21 Confession of SEAT Chhae alias Tum entitled *Responses: Seat Chhae alias Tum, ex-Secretary of Sector 22 - East Zone On the History of His Own Personal Activities Betraying the Party* dated 3 November 1977, DCCN J900, ERN 00005507-00005708.
- ²⁶⁰ S-21 Confession of SEAT Chhae alias Tum entitled *Responses: Seat Chhae alias Tum, ex-Secretary of Sector 22 - East Zone On the History of His Own Personal Activities Betraying the Party* dated 3 November 1977, DCCN J900, ERN 00005507-00005708.
- ²⁶¹ S-21 Confession of SEAT Chhae alias Tum entitled *Responses: Seat Chhae alias Tum, ex-Secretary of Sector 22 - East Zone On the History of His Own Personal Activities Betraying the Party* dated 3 November 1977, DCCN J900, ERN 00005507-00005708.
- ²⁶² S-21 Confession of CHAN Chakrei alias Nov Mean entitled *Text of Chakrei's Confession, Continued from the Copy Made on 9 July 1976* dated 10 June 1976 page 6 (Heder summary translation CHAKREI.014).
- ²⁶³ DK Military Telegram by Division 310 entitled *Dear respected Brother 89* dated 4 November 1977, DCCN D01903; This telegram informed SON Son about issues regarding internal "enemies."
- ²⁶⁴ S-21 Confession of SEAT Chhae alias Tum entitled *Responses: Seat Chhae alias Tum, ex-Secretary of Sector 22 - East Zone On the History of His Own Personal Activities Betraying the Party* dated 3 November 1977, DCCN J900, ERN 00005507-00005708; DK Military Report entitled *Table of Statistics on Students Studying at the First General Staff Study Session* dated 20 October 1976, DCCN L1512. DK Military Report entitled *Second General Staff Study Session* dated 23 November 1976, DCCN L0000230, ERN 00008459-00008470.
- ²⁶⁵ DK Military Meeting Minutes by Division 920 entitled *Plenary Meeting of the 920th Division* dated 7 September 1976, DCCN L0001444, ERN 00083157-00083160.
- ²⁶⁶ S-21 Confession of SEAT Chhae alias Tum entitled *Responses: Seat Chhae alias Tum, ex-Secretary of Sector 22 - East Zone On the History of His Own Personal Activities Betraying the Party* dated 3 November 1977, DCCN J900, ERN 00005507-00005708.
- ²⁶⁷ S-21 Confession of SEAT Chhae alias Tum entitled *Responses: Seat Chhae alias Tum, ex-Secretary of Sector 22 - East Zone On the History of His Own Personal Activities Betraying the Party* dated 3 November 1977, DCCN J900, ERN 00005507-00005708.
- ²⁶⁸ DK Military Report entitled *DK Military Report re Overall Force Statistics for Army* dated 7 April 1977, DCCN L0000065, ERN 00052319-00052319.
- ²⁶⁹ DK Government Legal Document entitled *Constitution of Democratic Kampuchea, 1976-1979* dated 6 January 1976 article 19, DCCN D21447, ERN 00089841-00089852.
- ²⁷⁰ DK Military Report entitled *DK Military Report re Overall Force Statistics for Army* dated 7 April 1977, DCCN L0000065, ERN 00052319-00052319.
- ²⁷¹ DK Military Report entitled *DK Military Report re Overall Force Statistics for Army* dated 7 April 1977, DCCN L0000065, ERN 00052319-00052319; The divisions had between 3,258 personnel (Div. 920) and 8,568 personnel (Div. 164), but seemed to average about 5,000 personnel. The regiments had between 791 and 1,852 personnel. S-21 was listed as having 2,327 personnel.
- ²⁷² CPK Magazine entitled *Revolutionary Flag, June 1976* dated June 1976 pages 8-9, ERN 00062836-00062876.
- ²⁷³ DK Military Report entitled *DK Military Report re Overall Force Statistics for Army* dated 7 April 1977, DCCN L0000065, ERN 00052319-00052319.
- ²⁷⁴ CPK Magazine entitled *Revolutionary Flag* dated July 1976 page 65, ERN 00062905-00062945.
- ²⁷⁵ DK Military Meeting Minutes entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Economics of Divisions* dated 16 May 1976, DCCN L1229; DK Military Meeting Minutes entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Divisions, Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Divisions, Secretaries*

and Deputy Secretaries of Regiments dated 2 August 1976, DCCN L0001373, ERN 00052352-00052361. **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of the Committees attached to Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 12 August 1976, DCCN L0001376, ERN 00052362-00052375. **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 18 August 1976, DCCN L0001379, ERN 00052376-00052379. **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meetings of Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 30 August 1976, DCCN L0001407, ERN 00052380-00052383. **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 16 September 1976, DCCN L01449, ERN 00064954-00064957. **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Logistics of Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 19 September 1976, DCCN L01451, ERN 00052389-00052401. **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meetings of Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 9 October 1976, DCCN L01500, ERN 00052402-00052416. **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 11 November 1976, DCCN L1537, ERN 00088918-00088920; **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Plenary Meeting of Divisions* dated 21 November 1976, DCCN L1541, ERN 00088921-00088937; **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Logistics of Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 15 December 1976, DCCN L 252, ERN 00008475-00008484. **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 1 March 1977, DCCN L0000045, ERN 00052304-00052311. **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting on Production Work* dated 30 September 1976, DCCN L1487, ERN 00088911-00088917; There is also one meeting of representatives from the divisions, but it is not clear from the document whether the division commanders attended. Additional documents of this nature are currently in translation or on request from DC-Cam. **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 18 October 1976, DCCN L1505, ERN 00095528-00095531.

²⁷⁶ **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of 164 Comrades* dated 9 September 1976, DCCN L1446; **CPK Standing Committee Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of Meeting with the Organization's Office, 703, and S-21* dated 9 September 1976, DCCN L1445; **DK Military Meeting Minutes of Division 290 and Division 170** dated 16 September 1976, DCCN L01448, ERN 00002233-00002235; **DK Military Meeting Minutes of Division 920** dated 16 December 1976, DCCN L0000254, ERN 00052333-00052335; **DK Military Meeting Minutes by Division 801** entitled *DK Military Meeting Minutes of Division 801* dated 16 December 1976 (KHM), DCCN L0000253, ERN 00052330-00052332.

²⁷⁷ **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 16 September 1976, DCCN L01449, ERN 00064954-00064957; SON Sen met with Divisions 170 and 290 on 16 September 1976 – the same day that he met with all of the division commanders together. **DK Military Meeting Minutes of Division 290 and Division 170** dated 16 September 1976, DCCN L01448, ERN 00002233-00002235. In another example, SON Sen held separate meetings with Divisions 801 and 920 the day after a meeting of all the division commanders. **DK Military Meeting Minutes of Division 290 and Division 170** dated 16 September 1976, DCCN L01448, ERN 00002233-00002235. **DK Military Meeting Minutes of Division 920** dated 16 December 1976, DCCN L0000254, ERN 00052333-00052335. **DK Military Meeting Minutes by Division 801** entitled *DK Military Meeting Minutes of Division 801* dated 16 December 1976 (KHM), DCCN L0000253, ERN 00052330-00052332.

²⁷⁸ **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Economics of Divisions* dated 16 May 1976, DCCN L1229; **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Divisions, Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Divisions, Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Regiments* dated 2 August 1976, DCCN L0001373, ERN 00052352-00052361. ERN 00052362-00052375. **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 18 August 1976, DCCN L0001379, ERN 00052376-00052379. **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meetings of Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 30 August 1976, DCCN L0001407, ERN 00052380-00052383. **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 16 September 1976, DCCN L01449, ERN 00064954-00064957. **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Logistics of Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 19 September 1976, DCCN L01451, ERN 00052389-00052401. **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting on Production Work* dated 30 September 1976, DCCN L1487, ERN 00088911-00088917. **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meetings of Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 9 October 1976, DCCN L01500, ERN 00052402-00052416. **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Plenary Meeting of Divisions* dated 21 November 1976, DCCN L1541, ERN 00052389-00052401; **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Logistics of Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 15

December 1976, DCCN L 252, ERN 00008475-00008484. **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 1 March 1977, DCCN L0000045, ERN 00052304-00052311.

²⁷⁹ **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meetings of Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 9 October 1976, DCCN L01500, ERN 00052402-00052416; Describing the purge of Ya and its relevance to alleged plots by the CIA and Vietnam to invade Cambodia. **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 18 October 1976, DCCN L1505, ERN 00095528-00095531. **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 1 March 1977, DCCN L0000045, ERN 00052304-00052311; Describing how "CIA enemies are attacking us from without, but they are in particular boring from inside our Party and Army" but declaring that "we have attacked and basically eliminated them."

²⁸⁰ **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meetings of Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 9 October 1976, DCCN L01500, ERN 00052402-00052416.

²⁸¹ **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of the Committees attached to Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 12 August 1976, DCCN L0001376, ERN 00052362-00052375; **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 1 March 1977, DCCN L0000045, ERN 00052304-00052311.

²⁸² **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Divisions, Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Divisions, Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Regiments* dated 2 August 1976, DCCN L0001373, ERN 00052352-00052361.

²⁸³ **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 18 August 1976, DCCN L0001379, ERN 00052376-00052379; Describing measures to be taken to counteract enemies, including further education, Party-building, and more purges. **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meetings of Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 30 August 1976, DCCN L0001407, ERN 00052380-00052383; Ordering "further education about the spirit of vigilance," additional patrolling, the tracking and segregation of "no-good elements" from their units, and the creation of combat-ready companies and ordering commanders "to have an absolute standpoint about purging counter-revolutionary elements." **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting on Production Work* dated 30 September 1976, DCCN L1487, ERN 00088911-00088917; Urging commanders to: 1) increase their revolutionary vigilance; 2) firmly grasp contradictions between the Party and the exploiting classes; 3) "purge absolutely no-good elements"; and 4) set up combat-ready units capable of responding to an external invasion. **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 11 November 1976, DCCN L1537, ERN 00088918-00088920; Noting that it is "imperative to purge and grasp the biographies of the guard, patrol and intervention units in Phnom Penh" and ordering the division commanders to set up four companies of combat ready forces. **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Logistics of Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 15 December 1976, DCCN L 252, ERN 00008475-00008484; Noting that combat ready units "must be purged clean" and can only go into operation "after orders have been issued from the General Staff to the Divisions." **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 1 March 1977, DCCN L0000045, ERN 00052304-00052311; Ordering the purge of enemy elements, "comprehensive foot patrols" for Phnom Penh, and the farming of dry season paddy. **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of 164 Comrades* dated 9 September 1976, DCCN L1446; Ordering the arrest and interrogation of VUNG Sruol. **DK Military Meeting Minutes of Division 290 and Division 170** dated 16 September 1976, DCCN L01448, ERN 00002233-00002235; Ordering Division 290 to examine its personnel for links to alleged traitors from Sector 24. **DK Military Meeting Minutes of Division 920** dated 16 December 1976, DCCN L0000254, ERN 00052333-00052335; Ordering the removal and dispersal of all those from Division 920 who "used to be with the Vietnamese." **DK Military Meeting Minutes by Division 801** entitled *DK Military Meeting Minutes of Division 801* dated 16 December 1976 (KHM), DCCN L0000253, ERN 00052330-00052333; Ordering Division 801 to "conduct education and purges in the Army to make it clean."

²⁸⁴ **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 1 March 1977, DCCN L0000045, ERN 00052304-00052311.

²⁸⁵ **DK Military Telegram** by SOUS Met entitled *To Beloved Comrade Brother Duch, Please Be Informed* dated 1 June 1977, DCCN D1068. **DK Military Telegram** by SOUS Met entitled *To Beloved Comrade Brother Duch, Please Be Informed* dated 2 June 1977, DCCN D1075; One of the individuals sent to S-21 by Met was Battalion 503 Secretary Nay Chap. **S-21 Confessions of NAY Chap** dated 27 August 1977 and 10 September 1977, TSA N3; These confessions were marked for transmission to SOUS Met.

²⁸⁶ **DK Military Telegram** entitled *To Beloved Comrade Brother Duch, Please Be Informed* dated 4 October 1977, DCCN D1069; the two individuals who accompanied this letter to S-21 were SREI Sereuan and SAM Li. **S-21 Confession of SREI Sereuan** entitled *Responses of Srei Sereuan: On the Notes on the Responses of Srei*

Sareuan, Former Secretary, Battalion 260, Division 703, Before Arrest, Member, Battalion 621, Division 502 dated 19 October 1977, DCCN BBKKh24, TSA S131; This confession is annotated "One copy already sent to Comrade Met." S-21 Confession of SAM Kin alias Li dated 4 June 1978, TSA S612.

²⁸⁷ **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of All Division Committees* dated 1 June 1976, page 2, DCCN L1272, ECCC/OCP T524.

²⁸⁸ **DK Military Meeting Minutes** dated 2 August 1976, DCCN L0001373, ERN 00052352-00052361.

²⁸⁹ **DK Military Meeting Minutes by Division 920** entitled *Plenary Meeting of the 920th Division* dated 7 September 1976, DCCN L0001444, ERN 00083157-00083160.

²⁹⁰ **DK- Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of the Committees attached to Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 12 August 1976, DCCN L0001376, ERN 00052362-00052375.

²⁹¹ **DK Military Telegram by Division 310** entitled *Dear Respected Brother 89* dated 4 November 1977, DCCN D01903.

²⁹² **DK-Military Report by Division 801** dated 25 December 1976, DCCN L0000260, ERN 00052341-00052341.

²⁹³ **DK Military Meeting Minutes** dated 2 August 1976, DCCN L0001373, ERN 00052352-00052361; **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of the Committees attached to Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 12 August 1976, DCCN L0001376, ERN 00052362-00052375; **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 18 August 1976, DCCN L0001379, ERN 00052376-00052379; **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meetings of Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 30 August 1976, DCCN L0001407, ERN 00052380-00052383. **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 16 September 1976, DCCN L01449, ERN 00064954-00064957; **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Logistics of Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 19 September 1976, DCCN L01451, ERN 00052389-00052401; **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meetings of Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 9 October 1976, DCCN L01500, ERN 00052402-00052416; **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 11 November 1976, DCCN L1537, ERN 00088918-00088920; **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 18 October 1976, DCCN L1505, ERN 00095528-00095531; **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Plenary Meeting of Divisions* dated 21 November 1976, DCCN L1541, ERN 00088921-00088937; **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Logistics of Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 15 December 1976, DCCN L252, ERN 00008475-00008484; **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 1 March 1977, DCCN L0000045, ERN 00052304-00052311. These are examples of SON Sen issuing orders to Division Commanders.

²⁹⁴ **S-21 Confession of SEAT Chhae alias Tum** entitled *Responses: Seat Chhae alias Tum, ex-Secretary of Sector 22 - East Zone On the History of His Own Personal Activities Betraying the Party* dated 3 November 1977, DCCN J900, ERN 00005507-00005708.; SON Sen liaising with **NUON Chea** is recorded.

²⁹⁵ **DK Military Meeting Minutes** dated 2 August 1976, DCCN L0001373, ERN 00052352-00052361; **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of the Committees attached to Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 12 August 1976, DCCN L0001376, ERN 00052362-00052375; **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 18 August 1976, DCCN L0001379, ERN 00052376-00052379; **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meetings of Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 30 August 1976, DCCN L0001407, ERN 00052380-00052383.

²⁹⁶ **DK Military Report** entitled *Table of Statistics on Students Studying at the First General Staff Study Session* dated 20 October 1976, DCCN L1512; **DK Military Report** entitled *Second General Staff Study Session* dated 23 November 1976, DCCN L0000230, ERN 00008459-00008470.

²⁹⁷ **DK Military Telegram by DIM** entitled *Telegram 11 - Radio Band ? -To brother Mut* dated 24 September 1976, DCCN L0001459, ERN 00000863-00000863.

²⁹⁸ **S-21 Confession of PAEN Cheuan** entitled *Responses of Paen Cheuan, Secretary of Division 3, East Zone: On the Activities of Paen Cheuan After 17 April 1975* dated 29 May 1978, page 8, TSA P233 (Heder summary translation CHEUAN.001, page 4); Division 3 Secretary PAEN Cheuan recalled instructing his Deputy Secretary in this fashion: "I assigned Kaev Than to transmit our superiors' plan to the unit of organization."

²⁹⁹ **DK-Military Telegram by DIM** entitled *Telegram 11 - Radio Band ? -To brother Mut* dated 24 September 1976, DCCN L0001459, ERN 00000863-00000863.

³⁰⁰ **DK Government Legal Document** entitled *Constitution of Democratic Kampuchea, 1976-1979* dated 6 January 1976 article 8, DCCN 21447, ERN 00089841-00089852.

³⁰¹ **CPK Standing Committee Meeting Minutes** dated 9 October 1975 page 1, DCCN D00677, ERN 00019108-00019126.

- 302 **CPK Central Committee Directive** entitled *Decision of the Central Committee Regarding a Number of Matters* dated 30 March 1976, DCCN D00693, ERN 0003136-0003142.
- 303 **CPK Standing Committee Meeting Minutes** dated 7 May 1976, DCCN D00697, ERN 00000827-00000828.
- 304 **DK Government Report by the DK Ministry of Foreign Affairs** entitled *Working with the Committees of Every Unit of Organization* dated 12 September 1977, DCCN D01791, ERN 00086707-00086713.
- 305 **DK Government Report by the DK Ministry of Foreign Affairs** entitled *Working with the Committees of Every Unit of Organization* dated 12 September 1977, DCCN D01791, ERN 00086707-00086713.
- 306 **DK Government Report by the DK Ministry of Foreign Affairs** entitled *Working with the Committees of Every Unit of Organization* dated 12 September 1977, DCCN D01791, ERN 00086707-00086713.
- 307 **DK Government Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of Council of Ministers, 2nd Meeting* dated 31 May 1976, DCCN D00705, ERN 00000777-00000809.
- 308 **DK Government Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of Council of Ministers, 2nd Meeting* dated 31 May 1976, DCCN D00705, ERN 00000777-00000809.
- 309 **CPK Central Committee Directive** entitled *Decision of the Central Committee Regarding a Number of Matters* dated 30 March 1976, DCCN D00693, ERN 0003136-0003142.
- 310 **DK Government Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of Council of Ministers, 2nd Meeting* dated 31 May 1976, DCCN D00705, ERN 00000777-00000809; These minutes include extensive comments by Comrade Phea.
- 311 **DK Government Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of Council of Ministers, 2nd Meeting* dated 31 May 1976, DCCN D00705, ERN 00000777-00000809; These minutes include extensive comments by Comrade Phea.
- 312 **CPK Standing Committee Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of Meeting on Health and Social Affairs* dated 10 June 1976, DCCN D00707, ERN 00017147-00017160.
- 313 In a list of cadre from Ministry of Social Affairs and Health for whom there are S-21 confessions, we have identified at least 143 such S-21 confessions.
- 314 **S-21 Confession of TAUCH Pheuan alias Phin** entitled *Responses of Tauch Pheuan alias Phin: The Story of the Treason of the Confessor Himself* dated 24 March 1977 pages 1-3, TSA T120, ERN 00018729-00019081.
- 315 **S-21 Confession of TAUCH Pheuan alias Phin** entitled *Responses of Tauch Pheuan alias Phin: The Story of the Treason of the Confessor Himself* dated 24 March 1977 pages 3 & 4, TSA T120, ERN 00018729-00019081.
- 316 **S-21 Confession of TAUCH Pheuan alias Phin** entitled *Responses of Tauch Pheuan alias Phin: The Story of the Treason of the Confessor Himself* dated 24 March 1977 pages 7 & 16, TSA T120, ERN 00018729-00019081.
- 317 A list of cadre from Ministry of Foreign Affairs for whom there are S-21 confessions shows that at least 119 cadre were sent from this ministry to S-21,
- 318 **Book by Henry KAMM** entitled *Cambodia, Report from a Stricken Land* dated 1998 page 141; Quotes an interview with Ieng Sary.
- 319 **Book by Henry KAMM** entitled *Cambodia, Report from a Stricken Land* dated 1998 page 141; Quotes an interview with Ieng Sary.
- 320 **Statement of HOR Nam Hong** entitled *A Personal Reflection: Life During the Khmer Rouge* dated April 8-21, 2005 (*Phnom Penh Post*).
- 321 **Statement of KEO Bunthuok** entitled *A Camp Called Boeng Trabek* dated 19 February 2001 (*Phnom Penh Post*).
- 322 **S-21 Confession of SUN Ti alias Teanh** entitled *I Would Like to Report on My Biography* dated 24 December 1978 pages 2-4, TSA S637, ERN 00025572-00025620.
- 323 **S-21 Confession of PENH Thuok alias Von Vet** entitled *After Liberation on 17 April 1975* dated 6 November 1978 to 3 December 1978 page 11, DCCN D13840, TSA P374, ERN 00009936-00010164 (Heder summary translation VONVET.005).
- 324 **S-21 Confession of ĖUM Sâm-öl alias Savin alias Heng** entitled *I Would Like to Present a Report to the Communist Party of Kampuchea on the History of My Traitorous Activities, as Follows* dated 1 January 1979, pages 12-14, TSA I45.
- 325 **S-21 Confession of ĖUM Sâm-öl alias Savin alias Heng** entitled *I Would Like to Present a Report to the Communist Party of Kampuchea on the History of My Traitorous Activities, as Follows* dated 1 January 1979, pages 17-19, TSA I45.
- 326 **S-21 Confession of PENH Thuok alias Von Vet** entitled *After Liberation on 17 April 1975* dated 6 November 1978 to 3 December 1978 pages 13-14, DCCN D13840, TSA P374, ERN 00009936-00010164 (Heder summary translation VONVET.005).
- 327 **S-21 Confession of TAUCH Pheuan alias Phin** entitled *Additional Confession* pages 9 & 10, TSA T120, ERN 00018729-00019081.
- 328 **S-21 Prisoner List** entitled *Names of Prisoners from the Ministry of Public Works and Ministry of Industry* dated 17 February 1977 – 12 March 1977, DCCN D14236, ERN 00086998-00087005.

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³²⁹ **S-21 Confession of TAUCH Pheuan alias Phin** entitled *The Second Confession of Tauch Pheuan alias Phin* page 26, TSA T120, ERN 00018729-00019081.

³³⁰ **S-21 Confession of TAUCH Pheuan alias Phin** entitled *Additional Confession* page 11, TSA T120, ERN 00018729-00019081.

³³¹ **S-21 Confession of SÂMRĒUT Suos alias Sāv** entitled *Responses of SâmrĒut Suos alias Sāv, Before Arrest Held the Post of Office Chairman, Economy Ministry, Phnom Penh: On the History of His Own Treasonous Activities* dated 29 December 1978, TSA S389.

³³² **S-21 Confession of SÂMRĒUT Suos alias Sāv** entitled *Responses of SâmrĒut Suos alias Sāv, Before Arrest Held the Post of Office Chairman, Economy Ministry, Phnom Penh: On the History of His Own Treasonous Activities* dated 29 December 1978, TSA S389.

³³³ **SOAS/HRW Interview with HUN Chae alias Nam Chae** dated 26 July 2005.

³³⁴ **CPK Standing Committee Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of the Standing Committee* dated 3 May 1976, DCCN D00696, ERN 00000768-00000769; Foreign Minister **IENG Sary** reported on a number of foreign affairs issues.

³³⁵ **DK Government Report by the DK Ministry of Foreign Affairs** entitled *Working with the Committees of Every Unit of Organization* dated 12 September 1977, DCCN D01791, ERN 00086707-00086713; **DK Government Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of Council of Ministers, 2nd Meeting* dated 31 May 1976, DCCN D00705, ERN 00000777-00000809; Comrade Secretary announced that "We decided that there will be a meeting at an average of once a month..."

³³⁶ **CPK Standing Committee Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of Meeting on Health and Social Affairs* dated 10 June 1976, DCCN D00707, ERN 00017147-00017160; **POL Pot** and **NUON Chea** met with Ministry of Social Action personnel.

³³⁷ **DC-Cam Statement of BIT Na alias Bit Beuan** dated 7 December 2002, DCCN KDI0115/I07138, ERN 00054371-00054427; **BIT Na**'s description of several study sessions of several hundred Party members at the old Stadium where **Pol Pot** would instruct the cadre, with **NUON Chea** and **SON Sen** attending.

³³⁸ **DC-Cam Statement by RUOH Suy** entitled *DC-Cam Interview of RUOH Suy* dated 19 August 2003, DCCN KDI0328, ERN 00008249-00008362; One witness recalls visits to Ministry of Commerce units of organizations by "Big Shots" including **NUON Chea**, **KHIEU Samphan**, and **IENG Sary**.

³³⁹ **DK Government Report by the DK Ministry of Foreign Affairs** entitled *Working with the Committees of Every Unit of Organization* dated 12 September 1977, DCCN D01791, ERN 00086707-00086713.

³⁴⁰ **CPK Magazine** entitled *Revolutionary Youth* dated July 1975, ERN 00089735-00089742; This issue of the Party journal exhorts Party members to rely on raw labor power instead of machinery in agriculture. This propaganda can also be seen as instructing the cadre of ministries such as Agriculture and Commerce regarding the priorities of the Party leadership.

³⁴¹ The archives of the Documentation Center of Cambodia contain more than six hundred examples of these kinds of communications to **KHIEU Samphan** at Office 870 obtained from the Cambodian National Archives ranging from daily reports of rice production through to yearly reports concerning the activities of Zones, ministries and other echelons.

³⁴² **CPK Standing Committee Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of Meeting on Health and Social Affairs* dated 10 June 1976, DCCN D00707, ERN 00017147-00017160.

³⁴³ **S-21 Confession of TAUCH Pheuan alias Phin** entitled *The Second Confession of Tauch Pheuan alias Phin* pages 22 & 23, TSA T120, ERN 00018729-00019081.

³⁴⁴ **DC-Cam Statement of AE Li** dated 20 March 2003, DCCN TKI0121/I06874, ERN 00069260-00069298; **Li** was **IENG Thirith**'s courier between 1976 and 1979, and says **Thirith** ordinarily received two or three reports per day from her subordinates.

³⁴⁵ **S-21 Confession of TAUCH Pheuan alias Phin** entitled *My Contacts with My Little Brother Named Tauch Kham Deuan* dated 14 March 1977, TSA T120, ERN 00018729-00019081.

³⁴⁶ **S-21 Confessions of TAUCH Pheuan alias Phin** entitled *The Second Confession of Tauch Pheuan alias Phin* pages 27-28 and *Additional Confession* page 11, TSA T120, ERN 00018729-00019081.

³⁴⁷ **S-21 Confession of PENH Thuok alias Von Vet** entitled *After Liberation on 17 April 1975* dated 6 November 1978 to 3 December 1978 pages 13-14, DCCN D13840, TSA P374, ERN 00009936-00010164 (Heder summary translation VONVET.005).

³⁴⁸ **DK Government Legal Document** entitled *Constitution of Democratic Kampuchea, 1976-1979* dated 6 January 1976 article 5, DCCN 21447, ERN 00089841-00089852.

³⁴⁹ **DK Government Legal Document** entitled *Constitution of Democratic Kampuchea, 1976-1979* dated 6 January 1976 article 6, DCCN 21447, ERN 00089841-00089852.

³⁵⁰ **DK Government Legal Document** entitled *Constitution of Democratic Kampuchea, 1976-1979* dated 6 January 1976 article 7, DCCN 21447, ERN 00089841-00089852.

³⁵¹ **Report of United Nations Sub-Commission on Human Rights** entitled *Analysis of the Human Rights Situation in Democratic Kampuchea* dated 30 January 1979 page 14 (ENG), ERN 00078643-00078665; Amnesty International complained about Democratic Kampuchea's silence on this subject in 1978.

³⁵² **Report of United Nations Sub-Commission on Human Rights** entitled *Analysis of the Human Rights Situation in Democratic Kampuchea* dated 30 January 1979 page 14 (ENG), ERN 00078643-00078665.

³⁵³ **DK Government Legal Document** entitled *Constitution of Democratic Kampuchea, 1976-1979* dated 6 January 1976 article 11, DCCN 21447, ERN 00089841-00089852.

³⁵⁴ **CPK Central Committee Directive** entitled *Decision of the Central Committee Regarding a Number of Matters* dated 30 March 1976, DCCN D00693, ERN 0003136-0003142.

³⁵⁵ **CPK Standing Committee Minutes** entitled *Minutes of Meeting on Base Work* dated 8 March 1976, DCCN D00684, ERN 00017116-0001712.

E3/494

New

ANNEX B:

DOCUMENTS THAT ARE CITED HEREIN AND REPRODUCED WITH THE INTRODUCTORY
SUBMISSION BEARING CASE FILE NO. 002 (14-08-2006)

E3/494

1. **Analytical Report by the Government of Norway** entitled *Submission of the Government of Norway to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights*, ERN 00087537-00087571.
2. **Analytical Report by the Government of the United States** entitled *Submission of the Government of the United States Under the Commission on Human Right Decision 9* dated 6 July 1978, ERN 00087610-00087627.
3. **Book by David CHANDLER, Ben KIERNAN and Chanthou BOUA** entitled *Pol Pot Plans the Future: Confidential Documents from Democratic Kampuchea* dated 1988 (New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asia Council Monograph No. 33).
4. **Book by Henry KAMM** entitled *Cambodia, Report from a Stricken Land* dated 1998.
5. **Book by MENG-TRY Ea** entitled *The Chain of Terror* dated 2005 (ENG).
6. **CPK Central Committee Directive** entitled *Decision of the Central Committee Regarding a Number of Matters* dated 30 March 1976, DCCN D00693, ERN 0003136-0003142.
7. **CPK Directive from Office 870** entitled *Announcement of Steady and Absolute Combat Against the Yuon Enemy Aggressors and Expansionist Land-Grabbers* dated 1 January 1979, DCCN D10837, ERN 00021108-00021108.
8. **CPK Legal Document** entitled *Communist Party of Kampuchea Statute* dated January 1976, DCCN D00674, ERN 00053007-00053080.
9. **CPK Magazine** entitled *Revolutionary Flag* dated July 1976, ERN 00062905-00062945.
10. **CPK Magazine** entitled *Revolutionary Flag Special Issue* dated October 1977 – November 1977, ERN 00000267-00000277.
11. **CPK Magazine** entitled *Revolutionary Flag Special Issue* dated December 1977 – January 1978 pages 1-63, ERN 00064512-00064550.
12. **CPK Magazine** entitled *Revolutionary Youth* dated July 1975, ERN 00089735-00089742.
13. **CPK Magazine** entitled *Revolutionary Youth* dated May 1976, ERN 00064003-00064040.
14. **CPK Magazine** entitled *Revolutionary Flag, Special Issue, May-June 1978* dated May 1978 page 22, DCCN D21248, ERN 00064551-00064585.
15. **CPK Report** entitled *To Respected Angkar 870* dated 17 May 1978, DCCN D02131, ERN 00021046-00021048.

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16. **CPK Standing Committee Minutes** entitled *Minutes on the Standing [Committee's] visit to Northwest Zone* dated 20 – 24 August 1975, DCCN L01022, ERN 00008485- E3/494 00008493.
17. **CPK Standing Committee Meeting Minutes** dated 9 October 1975 (KHM), DCCN D00677, ERN 00019108-00019126.
18. **CPK Standing Committee Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of the Standing Committee* dated 22 February 1976, DCCN D00681.
19. **CPK Standing Committee Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of the Standing Committee* dated 22 February 1976 and 8 March 1976, DCCN D00684, ERN 00000723-00000734.
20. **CPK Standing Committee Minutes** entitled *Minutes of Meeting of Propaganda Work* dated 8 March 1976, DCCN D00685, ERN 00017124-00017127.
21. **CPK Standing Committee Minutes** entitled *Record of Meeting of the Standing Committee* dated 11 March 1976, DCCN D00687, ERN 00000736-00000743.
22. **CPK Standing Committee Meeting Minutes** entitled *Summary of the Decisions of the Standing Committee in the Meeting of 19-20-21 April 1976* dated 19 April 1976 to 21 April 1976 (KHM), DCCN D00694, ERN 00019142-00019148.
23. **CPK Standing Committee Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of the Standing Committee* dated 3 May 1976, DCCN D00696, ERN 00000768-00000769.
24. **CPK Standing Committee Meeting Minutes** dated 7 May 1976, DCCN D00697, ERN 00000827-00000828.
25. **CPK Standing Committee Minutes** entitled *Minutes of Meeting of the Standing Committee* dated 15 May 1976, DCCN D00701, ERN 00000770-00000771.
26. **CPK Standing Committee Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Standing Committee Meeting* dated 17 May 1976, DCCN D00702, ERN 00000829-00000836.
27. **CPK Standing Committee Minutes of Meeting** entitled *Minutes of Meeting regarding Propaganda Works* dated 1 June 1976, DCCN D00706, ERN 00000837-00000851.
28. **CPK Standing Committee Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of Meeting on Health and Social Affairs* dated 10 June 1976, DCCN D00707, ERN 00017147-00017160.
29. **CPK Suspect Statement of NUON Chea** entitled *Statement of the Communist Party of Kampuchea to the Communist Workers' Party of Denmark, July 1978* dated 30 July 1978, DCCN D13311, ERN 00016991-00017008.
30. **CPK Telegram 15 by Chhon** dated 30 November 1975, DCCN L0001045, ERN 00008494-00008495.
31. **CPK Telegram by Pok** entitled *Telegram 94 - Radio Band 1100 - With Respect to Beloved Brother Pol* dated 2 April 1976, DCCN L0001187, ERN 00000766-00000767.

32. **CPK Telegram by Sâng** entitled *Telegram 50 - Radio Band 948 - Presented with Respect to Beloved and Missed Brother* dated 18 July 1976 (KHM), DCCN L0001345, **E3/494** ERN 00021494-00021495.
33. **DC-Cam Statement of AE Li** dated 20 March 2003, DCCN TKI0121/I06874, ERN 00069260-00069298.
34. **DC-Cam Statement of BIT Na alias Bit Beuan** dated 7 December 2002, DCCN KDI0115/I07138, ERN 00054371-00054427.
35. **DC-Cam Statement of CHIEM Nha** dated 21 May 2004, DCCN TKI0579, ERN 00055931-00055965.
36. **DC-Cam Statement of HIM Hon alias Him Han alias Ream** entitled *Interview of HIM Hon alias Him Han alias Ream* dated 22 April 1977 – 12 May 1977 (KHM), DCCN KCI1055, ERN 00019659-00019674.
37. **DC-Cam Statement of IM Chem** dated 4 March 2007; Chem says that she got approval for her waterworks plans from the Zone.
38. **DC-Cam Statement of RUOH Aem** entitled *DC-Cam Interview of RUOH Aem* dated 13 July 2002 (KHM), DCCN KHI0040, ERN 00020162-00020189.
39. **DC-Cam Statement of RUOH Suy** entitled *DC-Cam Interview of RUOH Suy* dated 19 August 2003, DCCN KDI0328, ERN 00008249-00008362.
40. **DC-Cam Statement of SAV Yun** entitled *DC-Cam Interview of SAV Yun* dated 27 December 2002 (KHM), DCCN KDI0126, ERN 00019849-00019925.
41. **DC-Cam Statement of YIN Eng alias Sanh** dated 24 October 2003, DCCN KCI0442/I03078, ERN 00019592-00019614.
42. **DK Government Legal Document** entitled *Constitution of Democratic Kampuchea, 1976-1979* dated 6 January 1976 article 19, DCCN 21447, ERN 00089841-00089852.
43. **DK Government Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of Council of Ministers, 2nd Meeting* dated 31 May 1976, DCCN D00705, ERN 00000777-00000809.
44. **DK Government Public Statement by Ministry of Foreign Affairs** entitled *Official statement by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Democratic Kampuchea to the United Nations* dated 22 April 1978 (FR), ERN 00087517-00087523.
45. **DK Government Report** entitled *Name List of People of K-1 and K-3* undated, TSA 4748, DCCN D13627, ERN 00021153-00021161.
46. **DK Government Report** entitled *DK Government Report on the Border Situation in Region 21* dated 26 June 1977, DCCN D01645, ERN 00052830-00052831.
47. **DK Government Report** entitled *Report to Angkar of Tram Kak District* dated 28 April 1977, DCCN D00203, ERN 00079087-00079099.
48. **DK Government Report** entitled *Report to the Angkar of Tram Kak District* dated 9 October 1977, DCCN D00237, ERN 00079106-00079106.

49. **DK Government Report by the Cooperative Committee of Ta Phem Commune** E3/494 dated 13 May 1977, DCCN D00172, ERN 00079083-00079085.
50. **DK Government Report by the DK Ministry of Foreign Affairs** entitled *Working with the Committees of Every Unit of Organization* dated 12 September 1977, DCCN D01791, ERN 00086707-00086713.
51. **DK Government Report by Mo-560/Comrade Chhan** entitled *The Situation in the North-West Zone* dated 29 May 1977, DCCN L0001436, ERN 00008497-00008501.
52. **DK Government Telegram by Office 870** entitled *Advice from 870* dated 3 January 1979, DCCN D01993, ERN 00002978-00002981.
53. **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of the Committees attached to Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 12 August 1976, DCCN L0001376, ERN 00052362-00052375.
54. **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting on Production Work* dated 30 September 1976, DCCN L1487, ERN 00088911-00088917.
55. **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Economics of Divisions* dated 16 May 1976, DCCN L1229.
56. **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 18 August 1976, DCCN L0001379, ERN 00052376-00052379.
57. **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meetings of Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 30 August 1976, DCCN L0001407, ERN 00052380-00052383.
58. **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 16 September 1976, DCCN L01449, ERN 00064954-00064957.
59. **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Logistics of Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 19 September 1976, DCCN L01451, ERN 00052389-00052401.
60. **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meetings of Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 9 October 1976, DCCN L01500, ERN 00052402-00052416.
61. **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 11 November 1976, DCCN L1537, ERN 00088918-00088920.
62. **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Logistics of Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 15 December 1976, DCCN L 252, ERN 00008475-00008484.

63. **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 1 March 1977, DCCN L0000045, ERN 00052304-00052311.
64. **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Divisions, Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Divisions, Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Regiments* dated 2 August 1976, DCCN L0001373, ERN 00052352-00052361.
65. **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Plenary Meeting of Divisions* dated 21 November 1976, DCCN L1541, ERN 00088921-00088937.
66. **DK Military Meeting Minutes of Division 290 and Division 170** dated 16 September 1976, DCCN L01448, ERN 00002233-00002235.
67. **DK Military Meeting Minutes by Division 801** entitled *DK Military Meeting Minutes of Division 801* dated 16 December 1976 (KHM), DCCN L0000253, ERN 00052330-00052332.
68. **DK Military Meeting Minutes by Division 920** entitled *Plenary Meeting of the 920th Division* dated 7 September 1976, DCCN L0001444, ERN 00083157-00083160.
69. **DK Military Meeting Minutes of Division 920** dated 16 December 1976, DCCN L0000254, ERN 00052333-00052335;
70. **DK Military Report** entitled *Table of Statistics on Students Studying at the First General Staff Study Session* dated 20 October 1976, DCCN L1512.
71. **DK Military Report** entitled *Second General Staff Study Session* dated 23 November 1976, DCCN L0000230, ERN 00008459-00008470.
72. **DK Military Report** entitled *DK Military Report re Overall Force Statistics for Army* dated 7 April 1977, DCCN L0000065, ERN 00052319-00052319.
73. **DK Military Report** entitled *Confidential Phone Conversation Respected and Beloved Grand Uncle* dated 15 April 1978, DCCN D02113, ERN 00021004-00021004.
74. **DK Military Telegram by Chhon** entitled *Telegram 21 - Radio Band 676 - To Beloved and Missed Brother Pol* dated 21 March 1976, DCCN L0001158, ERN 00052346-00052346.
75. **DK Military Telegram by Lin** entitled *To Beloved and Missed Mo[office] 870* dated 14 August 1977, DCCN D01760, ERN 00020857-00020857.
76. **DK Military Telegram by Nhim** entitled *Telegram ?, To Angkar 870* dated 11 May 1978 DCCN D02129, ERN 00021043-00021045.
77. **DK Military Telegram by Phuong** entitled *Telegram 06 - Radio Band 285 - Dear Respected and Beloved M 870* dated 23 December 1977, DCCN D01972, ERN 00020919-00020919.

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78. **DK Military Telegram by Phuong** entitled *Telegram 07 - Radio Band 269 -Dear Respected and Beloved M870* dated 23 December 1977, DCCN D01975, ERN 00020922-00020922. **E3/494**
79. **DK Military Telegram by Phuong** entitled *Telegram 08 - Radio Band 275 - Dear Respected and Beloved M 870* dated 24 December 1977, DCCN D01974, ERN 00020921-00020921.
80. **Map of Democratic Kampuchea** by Ministry of Education of Democratic Kampuchea dated 1976 (ENG/KHM).
81. **Report of United Nations Sub-Commission on Human Rights** entitled *Analysis of the Human Rights Situation in Democratic Kampuchea* dated 30 January 1979 page 14 (ENG), ERN 00078643-00078665.
82. **S-21 Confession of CHAN Chakrei alias Nov Mean** entitled *Text of Chakrei's Confession, Continued from the Copy Made on 9 July 1976* dated 10 June 1976 page 6 (Heder summary translation CHAKREI.014).
83. **S-21 Confession of CHEA Non alias Suong** dated 20 February 1977 page 6, DCCN C155, ERN 00012692-00012957;
84. **S-21 Confession of CHHEUM Sam-aok alias Pang** dated 28 May 1978 page 19, TSA C175, ERN 00013353-00013532.
85. **S-21 Confession of CHOU Chet alias Si** dated 21 March 1978 pages 48-49, TSA C117, ERN 00013660-00013990.
86. **S-21 Confession of KUNG Kien alias EUNG Vet** dated 26 May 1977, DCCN J300, ERN 00001268-00001275.
87. **S-21 Confession of MÂP Chhaoey alias Duch** entitled *Responses of Mâp Chhaoey alias Duch, Member, Political Department (B-1); On the History of My Own Traitorous Activities* dated 30 August 1978, TSA M3, ERN 00001128-00001163.
88. **S-21 Confession of MEAH Mon alias Kaev Samnang** dated 23 May 1978, TSA M28, ERN 00035863-00036640.
89. **S-21 Confession of MINH Thoeum alias Heang** entitled *The Record and Activities of Minh Thoem alias Heang, Secretary of Sector 4, Northwest Zone* dated 20 June 1978 page 3, TSA M83, ECCC/OCP UNK147 (Heder summary translation HEANG.001).
90. **S-21 Confession of PENH Thuok alias Von Vet** dated 6 November 1978 to 3 December 1978, DCCN D13840, ERN 00007590-00007748.
91. **S-21 Confession of SAOM Chea** entitled *Responses of Saom Chea, Secretary of Sector 25, Southwest Zone: On the Record of Traitorous Activities After 17 April* dated 25 May 1978 page 20, TSA S214, ECCC/OCP UNK135 (Heder summary translation CHEA.001).
92. **S-21 Confession of SEAT Chhae alias Tum** entitled *Responses: Seat Chhae alias Tum, ex-Secretary of Sector 22 - East Zone On the History of His Own Personal*

Activities Betraying the Party dated 3 November 1977, DCCN J900, ERN 00005507-00005708.

E3/494

93. **S-21 Confession of SIENG Pauy alias Sean** dated 28 October 1977, DCCN J734, ERN 00001361-00001361.
94. **S-21 Confession of SUN Ti alias Teanh** entitled *I Would Like to Report on My Biography* dated 24 December 1978 pages 2-4, TSA S637, ERN 00025572-00025620.
95. **S-21 Confession of TAUCH Pheuan alias Phin** entitled *Responses of Tauch Pheuan alias Phin: The Story of the Treason of the Confessor Himself* dated 24 March 1977, TSA T120, ERN 00018729-00019081.
96. **S-21 Notebook by Tuy and HOEUNG Song Huor alias Pon** dated 12 April 1978 – 17 December 1978, DCCN T023, ERN 00077442-00077660.
97. **SOAS/HRW Suspect Statement of KHIEU Samphan alias Haem** dated 17 August 2005, ERN 00078213-00078214.
98. **Statement of HOR Nam Hong** entitled *A Personal Reflection: Life During the Khmer Rouge* dated April 8-21, 2005 (*Phnom Penh Post*).
99. **Statement of TA Tham** dated 28 March 2002, ERN 00080566-00080587.
100. **Suspect Statement of IENG Sary alias Vann** dated 17 December 1996, ERN 00003660-000036699.
101. **Suspect Statement of NUON Chea** entitled *History of the Struggle and Movement of Our Cambodian Peasants from 1954 to 1970* dated 1978, ERN 00

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ANNEX C:

E3/494

DOCUMENTS THAT ARE CITED HEREIN THAT DO NOT APPEAR IN THE INTRODUCTORY
SUBMISSION BEARING CASE FILE NO. 002 (14-08-2006) (COPIES ATTACHED)

1. **Biography of KE Pauk** entitled *Ke Pauk Had Defended Himself Before He Died* dated March 2002, DCCN Issue 27 March 2006, ERN 00089708-00089716.
2. **Book by Howard J. DENIKE, John QUIGLEY and Kenneth J. ROBINSON, eds.,** entitled *Genocide in Cambodia: Documents from the Trial of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary* dated 2000 pages 90-94 (Philadelphia: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2000).
3. **CPK Central Committee Report** entitled *Document about the Fifth Congress of PP-IS around November 1978* dated 2 November 1978 (FR).
4. **CPK Magazine** entitled *Revolutionary Flag* dated June 1977, ERN 00062790-00062835.
5. **CPK Standing Committee Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of Meeting with the Organization's Office, 703, and S-21* dated 9 September 1976, DCCN L1445.
6. **Database by David Chandler** of S-21 Confessions.
7. **DC-Cam Report** entitled *The Khmer Rouge Communication Documents 1975-1978: Democratic Kampuchea's Confidential Documents* dated 14 November 2006.
8. **DK Government Meeting Minutes** entitled *Presentation by the Comrade Party Secretary During the session of the first meeting of the Council of Ministers* dated 22 April 1976 pages 9-10, ECCC/OCP T1011, ERN 00072753-00072768.
9. **DK Government Report** entitled *Report* dated 4 May 1977, DCCN D00275.
10. **DK Government Report by AR Saom** entitled *Dear beloved Comrade Police of Tram Kak District* dated 1 March 1978, DCCN D00266.
11. **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of 164 Comrades* dated 9 September 1976, DCCN L1446.
12. **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of All Division Committees* dated 1 June 1976, DCCN L1272, ECCC/OCP T524.
13. **DK Military Meeting Minutes** entitled *Minutes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Divisions and Independent Regiments* dated 18 October 1976, DCCN L1505, ERN 00095528-00095531.
14. **DK Military Report by Division 801** dated 25 December 1976, DCCN L0000260, ERN 00052341-00052341.
15. **DK Military Report by MEAS Mut** entitled *From Division 164, Political Section* dated 1 April 1978, DCCN D02094, ERN 00001096-00001096.
16. **DK Military Telegram** dated 13 July 1977, DCCN D01696.
17. **DK Military Telegram** dated 4 April 1978, DCCN D02096.

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18. **DK Military Telegram** dated 20 March 1978, DCCN D02095.
19. **DK Military Telegram** dated 12 August 1977, DCCN D01966.
20. **DK Military Telegram** by **DIM** entitled *Telegram 11 - Radio Band ? -To brother Mut* dated 24 September 1976, DCCN L0001459, ERN 00000863-00000863.
21. **DK Military Telegram** by **SOUS Met** entitled *To Beloved Comrade Brother Duch, Please Be Informed* dated 1 June 1977, DCCN D1068.
22. **DK Military Telegram** by **SOUS Met** entitled *To Beloved Comrade Brother Duch, Please Be Informed* dated 2 June 1977, DCCN D1075.
23. **DK Military Telegram** entitled *Dear Beloved Office 870* dated 11 May 1977, DCCN L0001410.
24. **DK Military Telegram** by **Division 310** entitled *Dear respected Brother 89* dated 4 November 1977, DCCN D01903.
25. **DK Military Telegram** entitled *Report of Region 1* dated 28 May 1977, DCCN L0001434.
26. **DK Military Telegram** entitled *To Beloved Comrade Brother Duch, Please Be Informed* dated 4 October 1977, DCCN D1069.
27. **DK Military Telegram** entitled *To beloved and missed Com 870* dated 23 August 1977, DCCN D01702.
28. **DK Military Telegram** entitled *To respected, beloved and missed Angkar* dated 16 July 1978, DCCN D02162.
29. **DK Military Telegram** entitled *To respected, beloved and missed Angkar* dated 23 July 1978, DCCN D2164.
30. **DK Military Telegram** entitled *To respected, beloved and missed Angkar* dated 4 August 1978, DCCN D02165.
31. **List of Cadre from Ministry of Social Affairs and Health** for whom there are S-21 confessions.
32. **List of Cadre from Ministry of Foreign Affairs** for whom there are S-21 confessions.
33. **S-21 Biography of CHOEK Yân alias Aem**, DCCN I10330 (Chairperson for Women, Office K9, detained the Chairman Office K9, Ta Lei, on 6 February 1977).
34. **S-21 Biography of KUNG Chhaem alias Srun**, DCCN K07119 (Currently medic on permanent duty at Office S71, Female Youth, detained at S71 on 4 July 1978).
35. **S-21 Biography of MÂP Nau alias Khaon**, DCCN I10329 (Office K6 Committee, currently a combatant at the Au 5 Office, detained at Office K6 on 26 February 1977).
36. **S-21 Biography of MEI Chan Bau**, DCCN I10323 (Combatant, S71, currently at the State Market for sales to foreigners, detained at Office S71 on 17 February 1977).

37. **S-21 Biography of NAU Sovan alias Mai**, DCCN I10331 (Female combatant, Office K16, currently at Office K16, detained at Office K16 on 4 February 1977).
38. **S-21 Confession of CHAN Chakrei alias Nov Mean** entitled *Chakrei on Ruoh Phuon* dated 4 July 1976, TSA C176 (Heder summary translation CHAKREI.008, ECCC/OCP UNK134).
39. **S-21 Confession of CHAN Sâm alias Sae** entitled *Responses of Chan Sâm alias Sae, Secretary of the New North Zone, or Zone 801: The History of Sae's Own Traitorous Activities from the End of 1973 Until His Arrest on 15 August 1978 (Part II)* dated 10 September 1978, TSA C209.
40. **S-21 Confession of CHAN Phat alias Phôk** entitled *Responses of Chan Phat alias Phôk, Chairman for Security, Central Zone: History of Phôk's Own Activities* dated 25 November 1977, TSA C2.
41. **S-21 Confession of CHO Chhan alias Sreng** entitled *Post-17 April 1975 Activities* dated 23 February 1977 at beginning and 24 February 1977 (Heder summary translation SRENG.001).
42. **S-21 Confession of CHO Chhan alias Sreng** entitled *I Would Like to Report on the Liaison Between Myself and Comrade Deuan in Connection with Party-Betraying Activities* dated 14 March 1977, (Heder summary translation SRENG.005).
43. **S-21 Confession of ĖUM Sâm-ôl alias Savîn alias Heng** entitled *I Would Like to Present a Report to the Communist Party of Kampuchea on the History of My Traitorous Activities, as Follows* dated 1 January 1979, TSA I45.
44. **S-21 Confession of KHEANG Sim Horn alias But** dated 18 December 1978 page 74, TSA K222 (Heder summary translation BUT.003).
45. **S-21 Confession of KHOEM Chhũm** entitled *Responses of Khoem Chhũm, Deputy Secretary, Sector 43, Central Zone: On the History of His Own Traitorous Activities* dated 11 September 1978, TSA K224.
46. **S-21 Confession of MEAH Aem** dated 1978, TSA M264, ERN 00075561-00075568.
47. **S-21 Confession of MEAH Chhuon alias Voek alias Chhean** entitled *Responses of the Contemptible Chhean, Secretary of Sector 22, East Zone, 21 June 1978* dated 21 June 1978, TSA M31.
48. **S-21 Confessions of NAY Chap** dated 27 August 1977 and 10 September 1977, TSA N3.
49. **S-21 Confession of PAEN Cheuan** entitled *Responses of Paen Cheuan, Secretary of Division 3, East Zone: On the Activities of Paen Cheuan After 17 April 1975* dated 29 May 1978, TSA P233 (Heder summary translation CHEUAN.001).
50. **S-21 Confession of PHOK Sari alias Tom** entitled *Notes presented to the Organization on the History of the Treason of Phok Sari alias Tom, Secretary of Sector 3, Northwest Zone* dated 4 September 1978 pages 1 & 3, TSA P200, ECCC/OCP UNK167 (Heder summary translation TOM.001).

51. S-21 Confession of SAM Kin alias Li dated 4 June 1978, TSA S612.
52. S-21 Confession of SÂMRĒUT Suos *alias* Săv entitled *Responses of Sâmreüt Suos alias Săv, Before Arrest Held the Post of Office Chairman, Economy Ministry, Phnom Penh: On the History of His Own Treasonous Activities* dated 29 December 1978, TSA S389.
53. S-21 Confession of SREI Sereuan entitled *Responses of Srei Sereuan: On the Notes on the Responses of Srei Sareuan, Former Secretary, Battalion 260, Division 703, Before Arrest, Member, Battalion 621, Division 502* dated 19 October 1977, DCCN BBKKh24, TSA S131.
54. S-21 Confession of TAUCH Chaem alias Sot entitled *Responses of Tauch Chaem alias Sot, Secretary, Sector 21, East Zone: Record of the History of the Traitorous Activities of Sot Himself* dated 18 May 1978, TSA T34.
55. S-21 Confession of TEUM Sen alias Sit entitled *History of the Traitorous Political Activities of Teum Sen alias Sit, Secretary of Kah Thom District, Sector 25, Southwest Zone* dated 20 October 1977, DCCN J440.
56. S-21 Prisoner List entitled *Names of Prisoners from the Ministry of Public Works and Ministry of Industry* dated 17 February 1977 – 12 March 1977, DCCN D14236, ERN 00086998-00087005.
57. SOAS/HRW Interview of HUN Chae alias Nam Chae dated 26 July 2005.
58. SOAS/HRW Interview of PEAN Khean dated 25 July 2005.
59. Statement of KEO Bunthuok entitled *A Camp Called Boeng Trabek* dated 19 February 2001 (*Phnom Penh Post*).
60. Statement of MEN Chhân dated 6 August 1990; Tapes in the possession of the ECCC/OCIJ.

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